ARTHUR FRANCIS GRIMBLE

EDITED BY H. E. MAUDE

TUNGARU TRADITIONS

WRITINGS ON THE ATOLL CULTURE OF THE GILBERT ISLANDS

The Pacific Islands Monograph Series is a joint effort of the University of Hawaii Press and the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawaii. The series includes works in the humanities and social sciences that focus on the insular Pacific.

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ARTHUR FRANCIS GRIMBLE
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Center for Pacific Islands Studies
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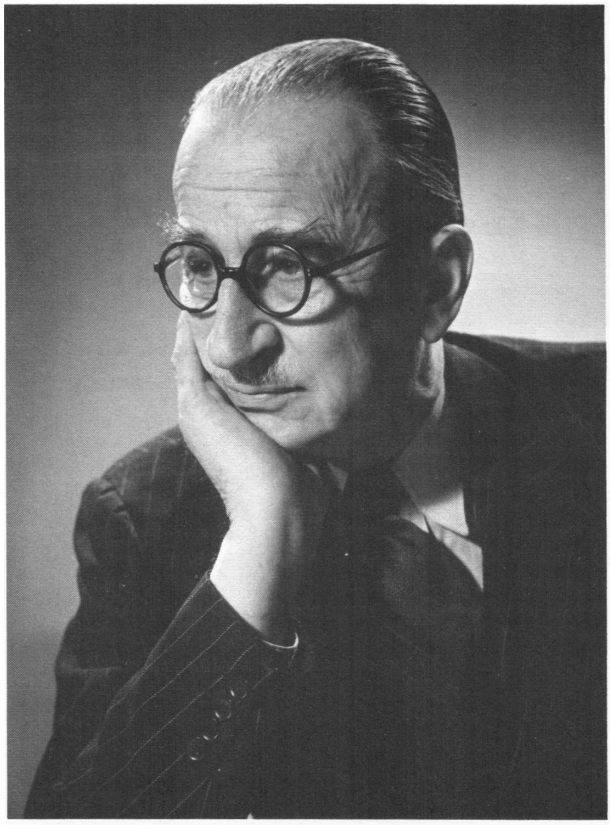
Honolulu, Hawaii

To the I-Kiribati

A treasury of their ancestral lore
to commemorate
the bicentenary of the first sighting of their
capital atoll of Tarawa
by I-Matang
in 1788



Sir Arthur Grimble, 1888–1956. (BBC, London)

Tungaru Traditions

Editor's Note

From the outset, the purpose of the Pacific Islands Monograph Series (PIMS) has been to publish scholarly studies in the social sciences and humanities that focus on the insular Pacific. By chance and not design, the first six volumes have been studies in Pacific history. This volume, the seventh, is the first anthropological monograph in the series, and it brings together two names that are well known to students of the Pacific, Sir Arthur F. Grimble and Harry E. Maude.

Grimble and Maude have much in common. Both were literally sons of the British Empire. Grimble was born in the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, and Maude was born in India in the heyday of the British raj. As students, both studied anthropology at Cambridge University. Their careers in the British Colonial Service began in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, and both became fluent in the Gilbertese language and accomplished ethnographers of the culture. Both men left the colony with reputations of having sincere concern for the welfare of the Islanders and only after earning its top executive administrative position, that of Resident Commissioner. As Maude tells us, their periods of service in the Gilberts overlapped for a period of nearly three years between 1929 and 1932.

As Maude also informs us, this monograph completes a work that Grimble did not complete, and it is Maude's hope that it "will serve to establish Grimble's reputation as the pioneer ethnographer who discovered and recorded" many of the main features of Gilbertese society It is clear that Maude has succeeded in the task he set for himself. The resulting monograph is a meticulous piece of scholarship and an obvious labor of love.

Maude tells us about Grimble's career, but with his typical self-effacement, he tells us little about himself. While Grimble had a distinguished career in the Pacific, it is generally agreed that Maude had a remarkable one. It had three chapters. Maude and his wife Honor, a Pacific scholar in her own right, first arrived in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in November 1929. During the years of World War II, Maude had assignments outside the colony, mainly at the Western Pacific High Commission in Suva, Fiji, but he returned to the Gilberts after the war and soon became the Resident Commissioner.

Chapter two began when Maude was seconded to the young and fledgling South Pacific Commission (SPC) to become its Deputy Secretary-General in November 1948. By early 1949, he had become the SPC's first Executive Officer for Social Development. In that capacity, he charted many of the SPC's social research programs, was involved with community development and cooperative projects, and launched a substantial effort to produce literature and visual aids for island schools.

In 1956 Maude resigned from the SPC and phase three of his life's work began when he joined Jim Davidson in the Department of History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University (ANU). There, with Davidson and others, he was instrumental in founding *The Journal of Pacific History,* the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, and the *Pacific History Series.* In 1970 after a career of over forty years, Maude retired from ANU.

Retirement provided a release from formal university commitments and greater freedom. As this volume attests, Maude has remained a very productive scholar. As the general editor for PIMS, I am very pleased that the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawaii has the privilege of publishing this work, which is a tribute to both Grimble and Maude.

The publication of PIMS is subsidized by private funds raised by the University of Hawaii Foundation. From the outset, the Foundation's staff members have shown great interest and support for the series, and their assistance and that of the Foundation is sincerely appreciated.

ROBERT C. KISTE

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Preface

> If one draws a circle around the island world of the Pacific, at its centre will be found the perfect models of the South Sea Islands of romance: a necklace of sixteen low coral atolls straddling the equator and almost touching the 180th meridian.
>
> These are the Gilberts; where Melville found his Mardi and Stackpole his exemplar of the Blue Lagoon. Lost in an immensity of ocean they are blessed with a superb climate, pleasantly warm without humidity, tempered by the constant bracing trade winds; and inhabited by the friendly and lovable Micronesian people.… (Maude, in Sabatier 1977, v)

So I thought when for twenty years from 1929 to 1949 they were my home, and so I remember them today, when thirty years later I find myself still engaged in Gilbertese studies; for, once bound in a net of affectionate remembrances to the place and the people, there is no escape.

The islands were, and still are, on the route to nowhere and as their remoteness suggests they were the last to be discovered by Europeans, if we disregard some contested and soon forgotten sightings by off-course Spanish galleons. There were no resources to attract European residents, except a few beachcombers seeking harbourage, traders after coconut oil, and missionaries in hope of converts.

Would-be visitors were discouraged by the absence of shipping calls, other than occasional inter-island oil traders or whalers seeking refreshment. Those with sufficient aptitude to leave records of scientific value about the Islanders may be counted on the fingers: Wilkes (1845), Hale (1846), Pierson (1855), Gulick (1861/1943), Finsch (1893) and Krämer (1906).

These, with Parkinson (1889), a few missionary letters and journals, and an occasional remark in a naval captain’s report, or by the rare perceptive enquirer, are all the contemporaneous

written evidence available on the indigenous Gilbertese culture before it underwent the changes that had their origins in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Not surprisingly, these documentary sources seldom, if ever, speak of culture change, for the beachcombers who constituted the vanguard of European intrusion were no advocates of change in any form, and the traders who followed were concerned only with modifying a few economic procedures and creating demand for a limited range of exotic commodities.

The real catalytic agents were the missions and the government; but the former did not have much influence on customary procedures on most islands until the 1880s, and the latter did not begin to influence them, except in a few instances, until the 1900s.

As Robert Louis Stevenson wrote on his sojourn on Butaritari and Abemama in 1889:

> In the last decade many changes have crept in; women no longer go unclothed till marriage; the widow no longer sleeps at night and goes abroad by day with the skull of her dead husband; and, fire-arms being introduced, the spear and the shark-tooth sword are sold for curiosities. Ten years ago all these things and practices were to be seen in use; yet ten years more, and the old society will have entirely vanished. (1900)

Stevenson wrote with discernment, but of two islands only; there were others where the indigenous society was still functioning virtually unchanged a decade later.

Nevertheless, it seemed that all we should ever know of the pre-contact Gilbertese way of life would be unrelated odds and ends, but for the work of Arthur Francis Grimble. Partly by his successful use of the ethnohistorical technique of upstreaming, Grimble recovered for the modern Gilbertese, as well as for the rest of us, the past of their atoll society as it functioned before the changes introduced by Europeans. He was just in time, for another decade would have seen the death of the last of his aged informants, and any reconstruction would necessarily have been based on less detailed and more inaccurate hearsay evidence.

Through what must surely have been the intervention of Clio herself, Grimble's manuscript field notes and unpublished articles have been preserved from almost certain oblivion and are at last being published.

In addition, Grimble wrote a basic study, “From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands,” five articles on particular themes in anthropological journals, and a number of sketches for the *Listener* and other periodicals which formed the basis for his main literary books on the Gilbertese, *We Chose the Islands* and *Return to the Islands*. A complete list of his published works is given in the Bibliography, and the first paper in particular is essential reading for students of Gilbertese social organization, either as it first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* during 1921, or condensed in Rosemary Grimble’s edited volume (1972).

Acknowledgments

My thanks are due, first and foremost, to the late Sir Arthur Grimble, the author of this work, who as Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony enthused me with his own love of Gilbertese studies during the nearly three years from 1929 to 1932 that I served on his administrative staff.

The Gilbertese elders with firsthand knowledge of the precolonial indigenous culture had by then almost all departed to their ancestral lands in the west and I gained more information on its nature from Sir Arthur's field notes, which he generously gave me to study, than I ever did from my own fieldwork.

Realizing the unique value of the notes I looked forward keenly to their publication for the benefit of other students, and increasingly of the Gilbertese themselves, who are in danger of losing their cultural heritage. Little did I suspect that owing to his other preoccupations and finally his death in 1956 the task of editing them would eventually fall to me, a congenial task that I owe to the kind permission of Lady Grimble, the Olivia of Sir Arthur's literary works.

My indebtedness to the Grimble family culminated in the ready assistance given by Sir Arthur's daughter Rosemary Seligman, a well-known writer and illustrator in her own right, who encouraged me to persevere with sorting and transcribing the rather daunting piles of handwritten and typescript pages of many shapes and sizes which arrived from England, and sent me photocopies of any missing items which her father had given her.

For the information on which the biographical sketch of Sir Arthur Grimble is largely based I am indebted to Barrie Macdonald, author of the standard history of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, *Cinderellas of the Empire*. With characteristic generosity Macdonald sent me copies of the relevant notes which he had made on Grimble when working in the Western Pacific

High Commission Archives, as well as the text of Grimble's memorandum which I have titled "A Discourse on Gilbertese Dancing" and reproduced in Part 3.

In the detail of editing my special thanks are due to the expert collaboration of Reid Cowell, the author of two books on the Gilbertese language, who provided felicitous English versions of some passages left untranslated by Sir Arthur, as well as translating the whole of Airam Teeko's invaluable history of Abemama.

As with my own books my wife, Honor, worked untiringly to produce an ordered text out of initial chaos, reading, correcting, and calling over the various drafts until they met her exacting standards.

Lastly my thanks go to Margaret Bacon who produced the final typescript with professional ease on her awesome word processor, unfazed by so much of the text being in an unintelligible language.

About the Gilbert Islands

From 1892 the Gilbert Islands formed part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate (of Great Britain), which became the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1917. In 1979 it became the independent Republic of Kiribati, without the Ellice Islands, which had become the Dominion of Tuvalu the previous year. The Republic of Kiribati now consists of the sixteen Gilbert Islands, Banaba, the eight Phoenix Islands, and eight of the ten Line Islands, with a total land area of 690 square kilometres, spread over an ocean area of a third to a half-million square kilometres. Of the total of thirty-three islands, twenty are inhabited by Gilbertese, and thirteen are at present uninhabited or only temporarily occupied. In mid-1984 the total population was estimated at 61,400, of whom approximately 90 per cent live in the Gilbert Islands, and more than 30 per cent on Tarawa.

The Gilbertese formerly called themselves I-Tungaru but are now usually known as I-Kiribati (Kiribati being a transliteration of Gilbert).

PREFIXES

Nei is the Gilbertese prefix for females and *Ten,* or its euphonic variations *Tem* or *Teng (Te in* the northern Gilberts and *Na, Nam, Nan,* or *Nang* on Butaritari and Makin) for males.

CLANS AND ANCESTOR-SPIRITS

A detailed listing of the Gilbertese clans and associated gods, ancestors, totems, and crests is given in Table 5. Other spirits or ancestor figures may be traced through the index.

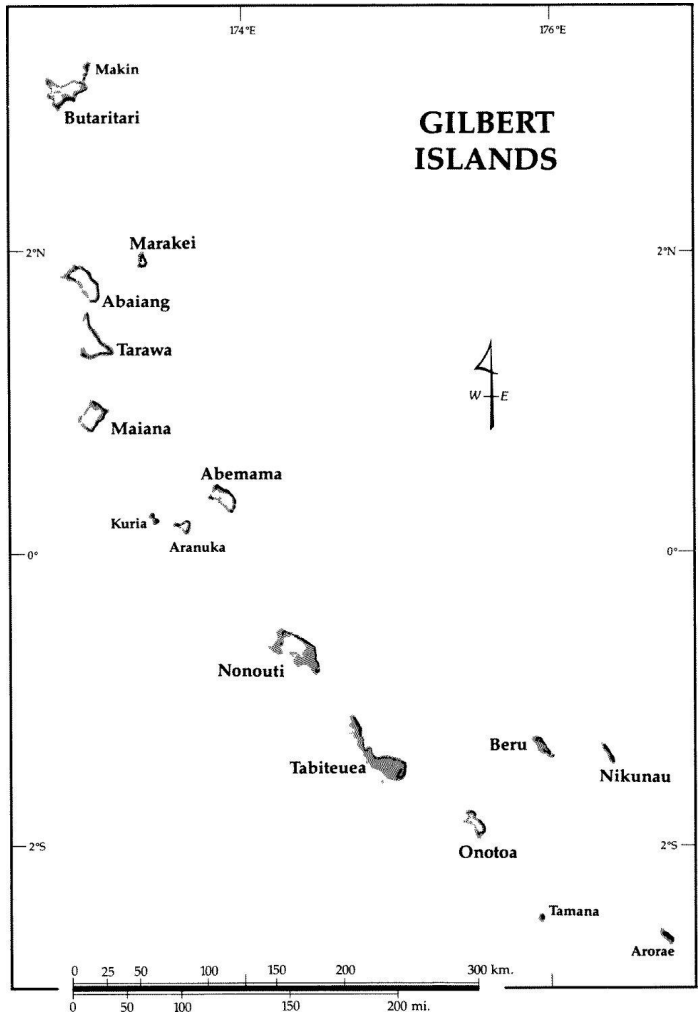


Figure 1. The Gilbert Islands

A. F. Grimble as an Anthropologist

H. E. Maude

Arthur Francis Grimble was born in Hong Kong on 11 June 1888, the son of Frank Grimble of Theydon Bois in Essex, a partner in the London firm of Caird and Rayner, manufacturers of marine engines and admiralty contractors, who had spent much of his life in the Far East. In 1898 Arthur was sent to Chigwell School in Essex and in 1907 became an undergraduate at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he spent three years and read law for his degree. [1]

His academic achievements were undistinguished and at college he was best known as a littérateur—a friend of A. C. Benson and Robert Keable—becoming president of the Pepysian Literary Club, a contributor on literary subjects to the contemporary reviews, and a poet with two works selected for publication in an anthology of Cambridge poetry. [2]

Like many upper middle class Oxbridge graduates of the Edwardian era, he was then sent to the Continent to perfect his French and German, and hopefully to decide on a future career. He had already spent his college vacations during 1908 and 1909 on the Continent, and these visits were followed by a further two years in France and fifteen months in Germany, as a result of which, as he wrote to the Colonial Office, he was "able to speak, read and write French and German as easily as English." [3] He had, in fact, a natural flair for languages which was to prove a major asset in later years.

At Cambridge Grimble had met the anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers, author of many works on Melanesia and then beginning research on his best-known book, *The History of Melanesian Society.* It was Rivers who turned his interests towards ethnographic research in general and the Pacific Islands in particular as a suitable locale for field studies; and it was Rivers who later directed his studies in Pacific anthropology with reading lists, tutorials, and expert advice. [4]

As a result Grimble took the unprecedented step of applying to the Colonial Office for one of the newly established cadetships in the Western Pacific High Commission, which were intended to provide an administrative staff for the protectorates of the British Solomon Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. [5] One cadet had already been appointed to the Solomons, though not at his own request, and another transferred from Fiji, but Grimble was the first to apply for such a post.

In the event he was not sent to the Solomons as expected, but became the first cadet to work in the smaller Gilbert and Ellice Islands service, where he arrived at protectorate headquarters on Ocean Island (Banaba) in March 1914. Here the Resident Commissioner, E. C. Eliot, who had only recently come himself, kept him in his office, ostensibly for training, for a year and a half. This enabled Grimble to acquire a working proficiency in Gilbertese and gain some knowledge of the local Banaban culture, which in some respects deviated markedly from the Gilbertese norm.

From the middle of 1916 until early in 1926, Grimble was a District Officer in the Gilberts, initially at Tarawa, then at Abemama and Beru, and later he was appointed the first Native Lands Commissioner and lived on Makin, Butaritari, Marakei, Abaiang, and again on Tarawa. Allowing for four periods amounting to fourteen months as Acting Resident Commissioner on Ocean Island and twenty-two months spent on leave, his total residence in the Gilbert Islands was approximately six and a half years.

When he left for England on leave in July 1920 it was with his wife, Olivia, and four daughters, and as living conditions in the Gilbert Islands precluded their return he had to go back alone. [6] During the four years which followed, from 1922 to 1925, Grimble may be said to have spent his entire spare time on ethnographic research, for he was lonely and for much of the period ill with amoebic dysentery and at times colitis. Talking of his period as Lands Commissioner, he told me that it was only his complete absorption in the Gilbertese life surrounding him and the kindness of his many Gilbertese friends, particularly among the Old Men, that kept him going.

Marakei, a circular garland of coconut palms and coral sand set around a sapphire lagoon, with a narrow boat passage to connect its calm waters with the turbulent blue ocean, was where Grimble spent his happiest months, with only a sorcerer’s spell to mar his halcyon stay. Here in 1922 he did his finest fieldwork, helped by a co-operative and knowledgeable

group of elders and the tacit support of his friend, the Roman Catholic Father Vocat, who ruled the Islanders with wisdom and benevolence.

It was unfortunate that the sorcerer, unsure of the efficacy of his spells on a European, had reinforced them by adulterating his coconut toddy with a liberal infusion of the cantharides beetle that in small doses is an aphrodisiac but in large amounts raises great blisters on the bladder causing, as in his case, days and nights of excruciating pain. Through all this Grimble had to perform his duties as though nothing was the matter, for any sign of weakness would infallibly have been put down to the power of magic, in this case the dreaded *te wawi.* [7]

Before we can appraise the wealth of primary material in the Grimble Papers and evaluate its reliability it is essential to know something of Grimble himself, his motivations and competence as an anthropologist, and his attitude towards and knowledge of the Gilbertese people. As I served under him for three years, several months being spent with him under the same roof, and we had the additional bond of coming from the same university, where I had obtained an honours degree in the discipline in which he was then producing a thesis, I had a unique opportunity to assess his scholarly calibre.

As an administrator Grimble was no innovator; he had grown to maturity in the Edwardian age when it was customary for the middle class of England to send their sons out to govern the empire, and Grimble did not question our right to administer the Gilbertese: of course for their own good. But where his predecessors had been bureaucratic transients or autocrats like Telfer Campbell, Grimble became a benevolent partriarch. There was never any question in his mind, however, that he, and not the Gilbertese, knew what was best for them. “The Banabans, like the Gilbertese,” he wrote officially in 1920, “demand the paternal form of administration if anything is to be made of them.” [8]

The Gilbertese of his day, Grimble felt, were “children, and at bottom very well-disposed children”; but while in the northern islands years of government tutelage had inculcated “discipline and obedience,” in the south the Islanders had been left largely in the hands of the Protestant mission, resulting in “the disappearance of the native gentleman with his primitive yet perfectly clear cut standards of conduct” and the “birth of the native snob; a being ashamed of his ancestry, ashamed of his history, ashamed of his legends, ashamed practically of every-

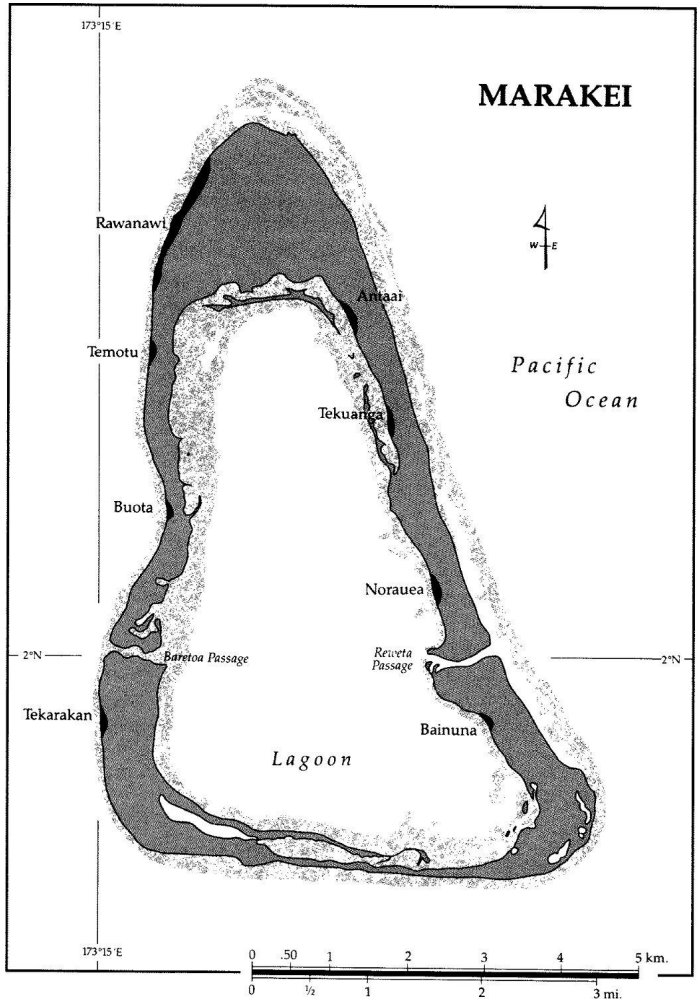


Figure 2. Marakei

thing that ever happened to his race outside the chapel and the class-room. … The fine courtesy and respect paid in pagan days by young to old are dead with disuse.” [9]

Here we have in essence why Grimble devoted himself so assiduously to the ancestry, history, legends, and pre-contact culture of the Gilbertese before it was lost forever; and why he concentrated his researches on the northern islands. As he

Marakei Atoll, where Grimble found his best informants. (Whincup 1979, 22–23)

wrote to the Resident Commissioner, “the interests and the affections which bind me to the Northern and Central Gilberts are very much stronger than they could ever be in the south.” [10]

Grimble had the polite and polished manners of an upper class continental-bred European and he was delighted to discover the same sense of punctilio, the same emphasis on the importance of traditional values and mores, in the pagan old men and old women of the northern islands. Here on each atoll he found an elite circle every one of whose members had taken an active part in ceremonies and rituals now discarded and ridiculed by the new generation of Christians as *bain te ro* ‘things of darkness’. They had been schooled in their youth by their parents and grandparents until they were letter-perfect in the traditions of their *kainga* and *utu,* and their main diversion in their old age was to sit in their *boti* in the maneaba discussing in intricate detail the niceties of immemorial usage.

This was Grimble’s Elysium. He sat hour after hour, pen and paper in hand, the courteous disciple and rapporteur, ever ready to learn and, by discreet questioning in the classical Gilbertese of which he was by now a master, to ensure that what he had recorded met with the critical approval of the elders. In

this way he was able to provide a unique picture, accurate and detailed, of the Gilbertese way of life before it had been significantly changed by contact with European innovators.

Grimble had arrived in the Gilberts at a propitious time, when there were still a few elders alive who possessed this first-hand knowledge and who had been saddened and humiliated by the lack of interest taken by the younger men and women in their expertise. Small wonder then that their self-esteem, and no less their prestige on their own islands, was immeasurably raised when one of their fair-skinned race from the land of Matang, which their legends spoke so much about, valued and was eager to acquire the traditional wisdom that had been spurned by their own kinsfolk. And so they told him gladly, sometimes in the maneaba with their colleagues, but more often closeted with him alone in his room, all that they knew of the traditional lore of the Gilbertese people.

The Native Lands Commission which Grimble was then directing was in essence an exercise in applied anthropology. The Commissioners were the Old Men elected by their colleagues in the village maneaba, the land disputes were adjudicated by them in strict conformity with immemorial customary law, and the proceedings were conducted entirely in Gilbertese. From first to last the commission was Grimble's creation. He had recommended its establishment in a series of reports from 1916 onwards; he had drafted the enabling legislation; devised its working procedures; and mastered the intricacies of land custom until he knew more about the subject than any Islander. Once he had started work on the enormous number of disputes which had accumulated since the establishment of the protectorate in 1892 (usually estimated at about 80,000) his work in conducting the commission's lands settlement on each island was mainly to see that the decisions were arrived at after adequate investigation, were unbiased, and were consistent with both island custom and other decisions in similar cases.

It was congenial work and satisfying in that it was so clearly something that the Gilbertese, and particularly the elders who possessed most of the land, needed and appreciated. But it was not long before he was alarmed to learn that the Pacific Science Congress of 1923 had recommended that the Micronesian region should be allocated to Japanese and American anthropologists as a research field; in October 1924 he wrote to the Resident Commissioner explaining that for the last eight years he had been "engaged in an intensive survey of the Gilbertese area," that he hoped to have his work published by an English

university press, and that in the meantime his field notes were "so complete and so classified that should an accident overtake me they would be of hardly less value to anthropologists than the completed work." [11]

His recommendation that to discourage intruders he should be appointed to an honorary post of Government Ethnologist did not, however, meet with Colonial Office approval and it was not long before he was feeling that his talents were deserving of a wider field of service and that London had forgotten him in his extreme isolation when applications for promotion were being considered. The possibility of an academic position was beginning to loom as an enticing alternative, and the knowledge that they could be losing him might well spur the Colonial Office to offer him some position more commensurate with his abilities.

When some members of the Sydney University senate urged him to apply for the newly established chair of anthropology during his vacation leave in 1925, he agreed and informed the High Commissioner accordingly. Sir Eyre Hutson replied equivocally, "will regret loss but personally will be glad to learn of success." In the event the chair was given to the professionally far better qualified A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. [12]

The 1923 recommendation of the Pacific Science Congress was not followed up until 1931, when an American anthropologist wrote that he had been appointed by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu to make a complete survey of the Gilberts in six months and was looking forward to "an anthropological scoop." By this time Grimble was himself the Resident Commissioner, and after some correspondence the scheme was abandoned owing to the infrequency of inter-island shipping communication, as was a second attempt to send Ian Hogbin from Sydney

Until 1925 Grimble had been in touch only with Cambridge anthropologists, but events had made him aware that he could not expect to pre-empt even his remote field in the Gilberts for long, or to compete against professionals with research doctorates in the discipline, unless he was better qualified and his work better known.

He was now a Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute and, Rivers having died, was being helped by the veteran Cambridge ethnologist, A. C. Haddon. Grimble's new plan was to use his field notes as source material for a definitive study of pre-European contact Gilbertese culture that would be published in book form. Four superb chapters on the

Gilbertese maneaba were completed for this work, followed by a draft of two introductory chapters on the reconstruction of Gilbertese pre-contact history from oral tradition; this was presumably to form part of a second volume of what was clearly to be a very comprehensive magnum opus.

In 1931 the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was sent an article on "Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances" and the editor, Johannes Andersen, asked for more. In reply Grimble wrote that "the material which I have collected has been recognized by Haddon and the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers as quite extraordinarily important, and I am bent upon seeing the whole of it in print within the next 18 months, for the particular reason that it will form my thesis for the degree of Sc.D., Cambridge." In return for a promise to ensure early publication, he sent Andersen all but the final chapter of a monograph entitled "The Migrations of a Pandanus People." Andersen commenced publication in serial form in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* and was promised further "occasional papers on Foodstuffs and Foodgetting, Children's Games and the like." [13]

In 1926 Grimble had been appointed Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, but his health deteriorated further and he continued to press for transfer to "a position in which my expert knowledge of Law, European languages and literatures, Anthropology, Men and international manners may not be entirely wasted," [14] pointing out later that his "conditions of service for almost 16 years in this Colony have been almost tantamount to exile. Time passed with my family during the last 10 years is 9 months. Relief is urgently needed." [15]

Rather to his surprise, for he had written the Colonial Office off, declaring in a speech that "the Colonial Service is like a sluggish pond, where only the scum rise to the surface," he was promoted to be administrator of St. Vincent in August 1932 and ultimately ended a distinguished administrative career as a governor in the West Indies. The last part of his monograph was consequently delayed and when it was finally sent to the Polynesian Society the fact that excerpts from it had by then been published in a popular work prevented the appearance of what would have been a valuable study for Gilbertese scholars.

With his ever-increasing burden of official duties, Grimble's plans for his major work on the Gilbertese were inevitably postponed until his retirement. But when that day arrived he decided to try his hand first at literary writing, which had been the main interest of his undergraduate days and for which the

best of his official correspondence shows the talent had never left him. As a result he soon found himself acclaimed throughout Britain as a writer and broadcaster of radio scripts, all with the Gilbert Islands as their motif, which were later to be collected into two international best sellers: *We Chose the Islands* (1952*a*, 1952*i*) and *Return to the Islands* (1957*a*, 1957*b*). These rank among the classic literary works on the South Seas and convey to perfection the atmosphere of the coral atolls which is their locale, but they are hazardous to use as ethnographic source material, despite being based on fact, for the factual content is subordinated to literary effect.

It is my hope that this book will serve to establish Grimble's reputation as the pioneer ethnographer who discovered and recorded the main features of Gilbertese social organization. If one works through the documentary sources from Hale's initial researches in 1841, it becomes apparent that before Grimble virtually nothing was known about the Islanders apart from their language and a few museum studies on their material culture. It would not be too much to say that our first knowledge of almost every other aspect of their culture is ultimately traceable to Grimble. The fact that the gist of what he recorded still stands as valid today as when he first penned it is a remarkable tribute to the scrupulous care with which he conducted his field research over sixty years ago.

The Grimble Papers

H. E. Maude

What have come to be known as the Grimble Papers comprise the ethnographic field notes and other unpublished material on the anthropology of the Micronesian people of the Gilbert Islands (including Banaba). This information was recorded between the years 1916 and 1926 by Arthur Grimble when he lived on the atolls of Makin, Butaritari, Marakei, Abaiang, Tarawa, Abemama, and Beru as District Officer or Native Lands Commissioner. At the urging of W. H. R. Rivers, his anthropological mentor, Grimble was originally motivated to record information on the Gilbertese way of life before it had undergone significant change. Rivers had himself collected similar data from many Melanesian communities and was anxious to obtain comparable material from other Pacific areas where investigations had not yet been undertaken.

Becoming increasingly interested in ethnographic work, with the death of Rivers, Grimble decided to use his by now extensive data to prepare a definitive book on the Gilbertese people. He had finished six chapters for it, when he invited my wife and me to stay at the residency with him for about nine months during 1931 and 1932, while I was working on the first census of the colony, and later on the lands settlement of Banaba. During our visit he asked us to put his notes into some sort of order; this we did, arranging, numbering, and listing them.

In August 1932 Grimble left the Gilberts and from that day until his death in 1956 he was occupied with other activities. Soon after hearing of his death, I wrote to Lady Grimble and his publisher, John Murray, suggesting that his field notes and other manuscript material might be sent to me for publication under his name, since I was the only survivor of those who had known and worked with him in the Gilberts and I had been actively engaged in Pacific studies ever since. They readily agreed, and the

papers, which had been lying in a box in John Murray's office, were sent to Canberra through the good offices of the High Commissioner for Australia in London. On arrival they proved to be the identical manuscripts that my wife and I had last seen in 1932.

The news of the existence and availability of the Grimble Papers soon spread among the post-war generation of anthropologists engaged on Gilbertese studies, and eight of them came to Australia to work on them: six from the United States, and one each from France and Germany. Most of them stayed for several weeks, and all were enthusiastic about their value. Copies of the Gilbertese and English versions of the extensive collection of myths, legends, and oral traditions, including the creation stories, were listed by titles and subject and issued by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau for the use of specialists who needed to examine them over longer periods. [1] These are being published separately for the Gilbertese of today, who are avid for stories of their ancestors, as well as for others with an interest in oral literature.

The remainder of the Grimble Papers have now been edited and annotated. In preparing them for publication, I have sometimes had to change Grimble's wording in the field notes, but not in the articles. These changes have been made only to clarify what was obscure and not to change his meaning. (Grimble himself would have polished the notes before publication.) I have left untouched certain phrases or words that may be considered archaic in modern usage, for example, the occasional use of the word *pedigree* instead of *genealogy*. Where Gilbertese names and phrases have been stylized in a particular form, for example, Karongoa n Uea instead of Karongoan Uea, Nareau for Na Areau, Naubwebwe for Na Ubwebwe or Noubwebwe, I have followed modern usage. When in doubt I have consulted Sabatier's standard dictionary (1971).

The papers presented here fall naturally into three parts, which have been retained for ease of reference:

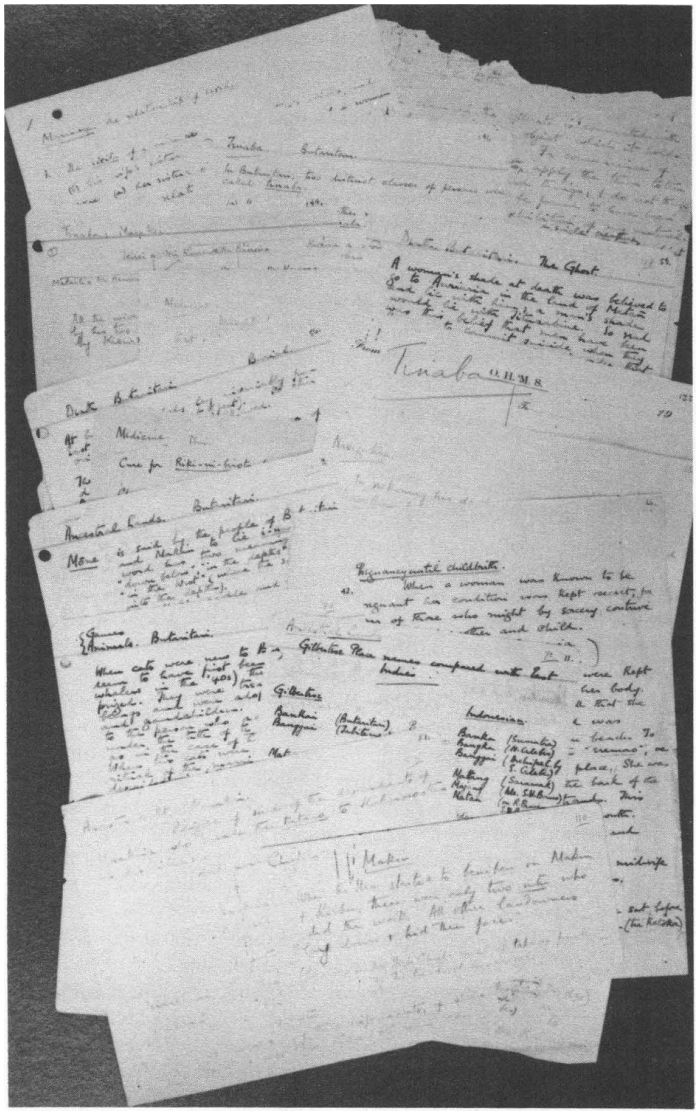
Part 1 consists of the field notes, which have been classified under twenty-two subject headings from Adoption to *Tinaba*. Grimble originally transcribed them in English from the Gilbertese narrative account given by his informants and then checked them by questioning to ensure accuracy. Grimble himself was completely bilingual in the classical Gilbertese spoken by the *Unimane* and *Unaine* who gave him the material. These informants were all mature people, and some of them already *Unimane* or *Unaine* in the latter part of the nineteenth

century, when they underwent the educational processes and initiation procedures, participated in, or at least witnessed, the community rituals and ceremonies, and generally took their part in the life of their kindred, maneaba, and island. At that time the social organization and way of life in the majority of the northern Gilbert Islands were functioning relatively unimpaired by European-induced culture change.

The four chapters on the maneaba that make up Part 2 were also written in the field and checked where necessary from recognized authorities on maneaba construction, ceremonial, and *boti* rights. Prepared by Grimble as part of his intended doctoral thesis, they—particularly Chapter 1—represent his finest anthropological writing. His reconstruction of possible historical changes in institutions, and their causation—for example, the effect of supposed matrilineal elements on *boti* organization—are however conjectural and subject to reassessment in the light of later research. Since Grimble did not integrate them with these essays, the notes on the maneaba that appear in Part 1 have been kept separate here.

Part 3 contains two previously unpublished papers on oral history. From internal evidence it would appear that they were written after the maneaba chapters and probably before Grimble began his monograph, "The Migrations of a Pandanus People," for the Polynesian Society. [2] The essays are in draft form and intrinsically of a more controversial nature, being concerned with eliciting the historical content in the Gilbertese *karaki n ikawai* 'traditional oral narratives' he had gathered over the years, and using it to construct a credible outline of pre-contact history. Though ethnohistorians of today may have reached some different conclusions, there is no question that Grimble has in these two essays given a basic framework on which they can build with confidence, even if parts of that framework may be demolished in the process.

To these chapters has been added a valuable article by Airam Teeko on the history of Abemama, which was written in Gilbertese in a notebook acquired by Grimble when District Officer on Abemama, probably about 1916. Grimble seems never to have referred to this work by a member of the Abemaman royal family, who was regarded in his time as the leading authority on the customs and traditions of his island, despite the fact that it contains a wealth of information, for example on the lodges of Auatabu and Teabike, which cannot be found elsewhere.



A sheaf of Grimble's original field notes, now preserved in the archives of the University of Adelaide. (Maude photo)

As a finale I have chosen an official letter on Gilbertese dancing, written by Grimble in 1919 as a riposte to charges of immorality made by the local representative of the London Missionary Society, the Reverend W. E. Goward. This was not part of

the Grimble Papers but is, in my submission, worthy of preservation, since it contains the best description of Gilbertese dance known. At the same time it is a literary gem which foreshadows the talent that was to culminate over thirty years later in *We Chose the Islands.*

Since Grimble was a disciple of Rivers, one is not surprised at his interest in tracing and using historical reconstruction to account for alleged matrilineal elements in the predominately patrilineal Gilbertese social organization, or his emphasis on kinship rights and obligations. I remember him quoting in conversation from works by Rivers, Haddon, Elliot Smith, and Perry, and he thought highly of Percy Smith's *Hawaiki,* which he lent me to read during my stay at the residency.

Though Gimble has been called the last of the old school of Pacific diffusionists, the essays reproduced here show him to be more akin to the ethnohistorians of today, who may be said to date from the ethnohistorical symposium at the Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961. Pre-contact history to him had to be rigorously based on the evidence of oral tradition and could not be safely extended further by hypothetical diffusions of cultural traits from Egypt or anywhere else.

That Grimble's terminology differs from that in use by anthropologists today is to be expected—he had, for instance, never heard of ramages, and his use of the term *patrilineal* is apparently not always correct by modern usage—but as Ward Goodenough stated, in acknowledging Grimble as an "outstanding reporter" of Gilbertese custom, he used the best labels available in the light of existing concepts at the time. [3]

Apart from these two minor points, the Grimble Papers are of even greater importance today than when they were first written. Grimble's departure from the Gilberts coincided with the decline of diffusion theories and culture historicism and the advent of an ahistorical period dominated by Malinowski and the functionalists. The period since World War II has seen the growth of acculturation studies and a renewed interest in culture history.

Early studies of island societies by beachcombers, missionaries, and newly literate Islanders are today of especial value for anthropologists as well as historians. On many aspects of life, as Lowie pointed out, "missionaries, fur traders, and others whose calling enforces long residence are often superior even to modern specialists," and the best results of all have been obtained "when a talent for observation accompanies both protracted residence and contact with professional ethnography." [4]

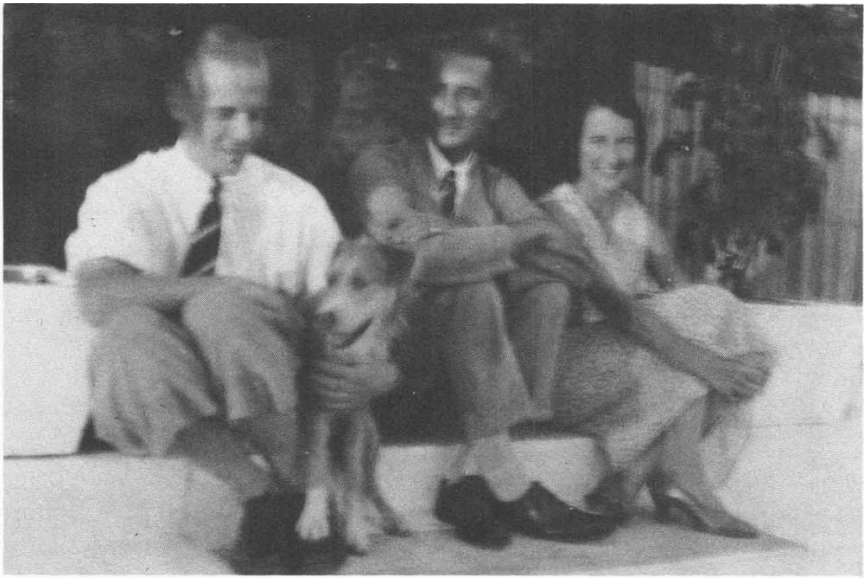
This is the exact case of Grimble, whose papers provide an excellent baseline account of a fundamentally pre-contact culture, from which the direction and extent of acculturation may be assessed. The necessity for studies which refer to "change" but give no indication of the preceding state from which the change has taken place is obviated.

Although some excellent studies of modern Gilbertese society have been written since World War II, the lack of knowledge of some of the basic traits of the culture is exemplified by recent assertions on the alleged descent group *oo,* or *oi,* now apparently an accepted tenet reproduced in textbooks for students dealing with Pacific social structure, despite the demurs of regional specialists. [5]

Publication of the Grimble Papers should enable not only the clearing up of past misconceptions but also the production of a historical ethnography of the Gilbertese people. As Carmack has shown, such works have already appeared on North American Indian tribes, African societies, and Mesoamerican cultures. The time is now opportune for a pioneer reconstruction of the pre-contact past of a Pacific people. [6]

However, one of my main considerations in preparing these ethnographic manuscripts for publication is their importance for the cultural renaissance of the Gilbertese themselves. During a recent visit to Kiribati I was struck by the ignorance concerning their former way of life shown by the modern elite whom I met on Tarawa; yet at the same time I was heartened by their intense interest in everything connected with their culture, and particularly their past. Their fathers spurned the wisdom of the *unimane* when it was available, for in the early days of acculturation only European-derived knowledge seemed worth acquiring. Now that the traditional sources of information are no longer available a new generation—many of them high school or university graduates—is realizing that they are becoming a rootless people without that pride in their own society, its ethos and values, which characterizes, for example, the Samoans and the Tongans. The Government recognizes the danger and is endeavouring to devise a programme of Gilbertese studies for use in schools; but there is a lack of suitable material to form a basis for preparing courses on the Gilbertese way of life *(te katei ni Kiri bati).*

Perhaps the most important benefit of all to accrue from the publication of the Grimble Papers may prove to be the restoration to the Gilbertese today of a valuable part of the in-



Grimble with his editors, H. E. Maude and Honor Maude, at the residency, Banaba, 1930. (Maude collection)

formation on how their culture used to function as an entity. It is information which they are now seeking and which has, as it were providentially, been kept in trust for them all these years.

PART 1
Notes on Gilbertese Culture

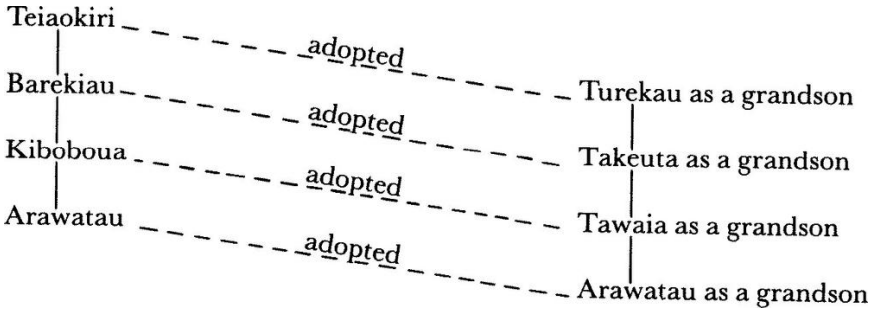
Adoption

ADOPTION AS *NATI* OR *TIBU*

If adopting a member of his own *utu,* a Gilbertese would never adopt as his *tibu* 'grandson or granddaughter' a person who did not stand to him already in that relation according to the classificatory principle. Likewise in adopting a *nati* 'son or daughter', the person adopted must belong to the class to which he would ordinarily apply the term *nati.*

SUCCESSIVE ADOPTIONS AS *TIBU*

If a man adopted another as his *tibu* it was the frequent custom for his son later on to adopt as *tibu* the son of the person first adopted. The process might be repeated through three or four or more generations. For example:



The effect of such successive renewals of the adoptive contract is evident. When Turekau was adopted by Teiaokiri he became as the own brother of Kiboboua, the grandson of Teiaokiri. Had

no further adoptions taken place Takeuta, the son of Turekau, would have become as the first cousin of Arawatau, the son of Kiboboua; and so on through succeeding generations, the distance becoming wider and wider and the possibility of intermarriage between the two lines constantly increasing.

But by the renewal of the adoptive tie in successive generations, as illustrated, each descendant of Turekau is brought into the first degree of brotherhood with one of Teiaokiri's descendants, thus making intermarriage unacceptable.

ADOPTION
BUTARITARI

Te toba '*fosterage*'

Under *toba* either a member of your family or a stranger could be adopted. If a member of your family he must be one whom you would classify as a *nati* or a *tibu,* on your father's or your mother's side. A man could *tobana* either a girl or a boy.

Te tibutibu

If you adopted someone who was a *tibu,* he would be your *tibu* and the brother or sister of your own grandchildren.

Te natinati

If you adopted someone who was your *nati,* he became your child and the brother or sister of your own children.

If a stranger was adopted under *toba,* he became your *nati* and the brother or sister of your children.

Your own children would be ashamed to prevent you from adopting another's child.

If you happened to be a very old man and adopted a stranger who was young you would call him or her *tibu,* i.e. the brother or sister of your grandchildren.

ADOPTION
TAKEUTA, AGED 80, *MARAKEI*

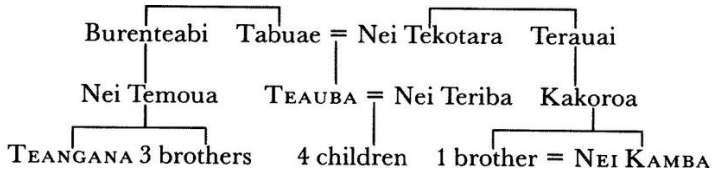
When a child was adopted on Marakei the *tabunea* called *kanangaraoi* was performed for the adopted in order that he might be well treated by the adopter, *"e aonga n akoa te tei "* [in order that he should treat the child well].

When a woman was pregnant and another person wished to adopt the child, he often said no word but asked his wife to make a new *riri,* which would then be sent to the pregnant woman without any message. The acceptance of the *riri* by the pregnant woman was equal to a promise that her child would be given in adoption to the sender of the *riri, "ai aron te rabu te riri arei"* [the *riri* was the equivalent of a reservation]. No answer in word or gift was given to the sender. The *riri* was made of coconut leaves on Marakei.

The near kin of the adopted could not marry the near kin (totem group) of the adopter. But distant totem sisters or brothers of the adopted could marry near kin of the adopter, and vice versa. [1]

ADOPTION OF *NATI* AS *TIBU*
ABAIANG

An interesting exception to the rule that a man only adopts as a *tibu* a child already standing to him in that relationship in the *utu* was disclosed in the hearing of a land complaint.



Teauba was the adopter of Teangana, the grandson of his father's uterine brother, and Nei Kamba, the grand-daughter of his mother's uterine brother. These two children therefore stood to him in the relationship of classificatory son and daughter respectively. But he adopted them as his *tibu,* not his *nati.*

The point was proved by the evidence of dozens of witnesses, as was necessary, because Teauba gave land to both children and a matter of the registration of a reversion was in-

volved. *Te aba n nati* 'land given to one adopted as a *nati*' is subject to no reversions, whereas *te aba n tibu* 'land given to one adopted as a *tibu*' cannot be alienated by the beneficiary, must be inherited by his own issue, and in default of issue must revert to the descendants of the giver.

Neither of the adopted children procreated and it had to be decided whether their brothers should inherit, as would happen in the case of *te aba n nati,* or the children of the adopter should take reversion, as would be correct if the land were *te aba n tibu.*

So many old men were witnesses of the adoption that it was impossible to doubt their evidence as to its nature. But nevertheless the case is without parallel in the experience of the old men of the island, and I have not found its like elsewhere.

ADOPTION OF STRANGERS
BANABA

Though in the Gilberts only the son or grandson of a near relative was adopted, on Banaba the child of an absolute stranger might be taken in adoption, and often was. Such an adopted could inherit all the adopter's lands, even to the entire exclusion of begotten children. [2]

Adoption from outside the family was indeed preferred, as a rule. If possible the child adopted belonged to some other island, because the son of a Banaban would tend, after the adopter's death, to carry on the name and fame of his true parents, whereas a total stranger would be so far removed from his place of origin that he would rely for his local prestige upon the name of his adopter, and thus perpetuate his memory.

Agricultural Rituals

TE RABU (TE KAOANIKAI)
TABAUA, *TARAWA*

A very common practice to prevent the theft of fruit from coconut trees is to put a *rabu* [1] [taboo] upon them. This is done by preparing sections of coconut leaf as described below, arranging them in front of you, and, with a circular motion (away from the body) from right to left, sprinkling over them the water of a drinking nut. At the same time you recite:

> Matakakang, matakakang; mataoraora, mataoraora; ko kana tera, au rabu te kaoanikai? Ko kana te aomata ane e anana wan au ni. Ko kana rana? Ko kana baina. Ko kana rana? Ko kana waena. Ko kana rana? Ko kana rabatana. Ko kana rana? Ko kana matana. Ko kana rana? Ko kana atuna. Ko a tiringa, ko a boia, ko a kama-tea. M'e a mate-o-o!

> Matakakang, matakakang; mataoraora, mataoraora; [2] thou eatest what, my *rabu?* Thou eatest the man who continually takes the fruit from my coconut trees. Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his hands. [Repeated for his feet, body, eyes, and head.] Thou shall smite him, thou shall beat him, thou shall kill him. So shall he die-o-o!

This is repeated three times, sitting in the middle of the piece of land to be treated, facing east. Each *rabu* is then tied around the trunk of a tree.

When you wish to gather nuts yourself you have to release the charm, so that you yourself do not suffer from its effects. You go to one tree and undo the knot that you have made, reciting:

> E matana, e matana au rabu aio te kaoanikai. E matana baina, ao e matana waena, ao e matana unna, ma tiri-tirina ma kakangina ma oraorana; e matana, e matana!
>
> It is undone, it is undone, this my *rabu*. Its hand is undone, its foot in undone, and its anger is undone, with its violence, its eating of human flesh and its eating of raw flesh; it is undone, it is undone!

Preparation of material for the rabu

a. Split a coconut leaf from the tip down its midrib into two halves. Cut each of these halves into sections each containing four pinnules. Each of these sections is a *rabu* for one tree.
b. Take a pinnule from the topmost sprout of a coconut tree and knot it around the trunk of the tree.
c. The *rabu* is then tied around the trunk of the tree.
d. When you have used all the pinnules that you need from the topmost leaf of a tree, you take your empty drinking nut (which you used for the charm) and plant it mouth up, in the ground by a tree. In this you stand the base of a leaf which you have used and rest the tip against the trunk of the tree, where it remains as a sort of scarecrow for thieves. [3]

TE RABU (TE BUE) BUTARITARI

A special method of protecting a tree from use by another was used at Butaritari by chiefs. The worn-out *riri* of a wife would be tied around the trunk about twelve feet from the ground. The tree then became exactly the same as the wife of the chief to whom it belonged. If another passed near or under the *riri,* he was therefore considered to have offended the modesty of a married woman and had to pay the forfeit of land called *te bainaine,* just as if he had committed adultery with her or had insulted her modesty. This form of *rabu* was called *te bue* ‘the heat’ because a man was considered to have burned himself by approaching the forbidden object.

TE BITANIKAI 'THE MAGIC STAFF' *MARAKEI*

A man wishing to steal his neighbour's fruit, in spite of the *rabu* put upon it, protects himself from evil by the aid of a magic staff called *te bitanikai. Bita* means change or reverse, the word *bitanikai* thus signifying the reversal of the *kaoanikai* and applying not only to the magic staff but also to the whole ritual concerned with the desecration of a *rabu.*

The performer cuts a straight wand, about six feet long and an inch thick, from any convenient tree and peels it. Holding this staff by the middle in his right hand, he stands by the east side of his house, facing east, just clear of the eaves and in a line with the central rafter, at any time between sunrise and noon, [4] but preferably on a day when both the sun and the moon are seen together in the sky. Waving the staff over his head in a circular sweep and looking up towards the sun, he chants in a low monotone:

> Bitanikai, Bitanikai! Ma Nanonikai! I bitia ba N na rairia. E teke karawa, e teke mone. E toki te ba, e toki te nari, e toki te aubunga. Bubunge ma bonotai i tabon te bike tanrio, tanrake. E na tei nako marawa; e na uboi baina, e na tuatua.... nga! Bu-ba-ke! Ngaia! Ko kakang i tari. Ngaia! Ko kakang i ana; bonobonota main te anti temana, Auriaria ma Tabuariki; ba a ti bon airinako touana ma aia antin wawi, ma aia antin aoraki, ma aia antini karaka, [5] ma antini kawa e-e. Bonobonota main te anti temana, Auriaria ma Tabuariki, i nanoni kawa nakoiaki, nakoiang. Kanga-o, e mate te anti, e mate te aomata. Bonobono-o-o! E mate te kua, e mate te aomata, e tei i aontari, e uouota ribanimatena, te ikananganganga, ba N na taebaeia, ba a taebainan au itera. Ba kam aki taraia, Auriaria ma Tabuariki. Tiringani manawana, oroia ni bobotona timtimu-e-e! Bitanikai, Bitanikai.
>
> Bitanikai, Bitanikai with Nanonikai! [6] I reverse it (i.e., the enemy's magic) for I shall overturn it. Heaven is pierced, the underworld is pierced (the performer stabs with his staff towards heaven and the underworld); the rock is struck, the clam-shell is struck. [7] Begin and protect me at the point of the beach turning west, turning east. It (my protection) shall stand firm over the sea; it shall clap its hands; it shall speak warnings.... nga! Bu-ba-ke! So!

> Thou eatest men at sea. So! Thou eatest men ashore. Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria and Tabuariki. For they (the collective enemy spirits) shall go where they are sent. With their spirits of death magic, with their spirits of sickness, with their new-created spirits, with their spirits of misfortune e-e. Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria and Tabuariki, in the villages to the south, to the north. How now, the spirit is dead, the man is dead. (I am) protected-o-o! The porpoise is dead, the man is dead, he stands in the sea, he carries the colour of his death, the peeling of skin (i.e., putrefaction), for I shall rend off his arms, for his arms are rent off on my behalf. For look not upon him, Auriaria and Tabuariki. Smiting of his breast, striking at his vitals, drip (blood) e-e! Bitanikai, Bitanikai.

This formula having been repeated three times, the performer sharpens the staff at both ends and carries it with him to the land where he desires to steal the fruit; there he plants it in the ground while he desecrates the legitimate owner's *rabu.* Having done this, he takes the staff home with the stolen fruit and plants it in the ground, up against the eastern side of his house, where he performed the *bitanikai* ritual. There it must remain until used again. It may on no account be used as an implement or brought into the house, the belief being that sudden death will visit the man who fails to observe these avoidances.

When you have performed the protective ceremony on the staff it becomes your natural protector in all kinds of danger or necessity. You carry it with you wherever you go, but you must be careful never to use it as an implement. For example if you use it as an *amoamo,* i.e., to sling a weight over your shoulder, you will die a sudden death.

If a thief goes to the owner of a tree and confesses to having desecrated a *rabu,* the owner may, if he wishes, save him from the curse by waving over him a magic staff prepared according to the above ritual. In such a case only the staff of the legitimate owner is held to be effective, but even this will be of no avail when once the curse has begun to work upon its victim. [8]

A SPELL TO MAKE YOUR LAND FRUITFUL

If you wish your land to be fertile and rich, visit it alone and walking over it from east to west wave your right hand before you over it, as if distributing the blessing of your words upon it, and chant aloud:

Tarai abau ba I a roko, ngai-e-e!
Kimarimari ma kitaba, kimarimari-e-e!
A na baka marin abau aio, te ari, te maritaba.
O kimarimari-e-e! Kimamau-e-e! Kimarimari-e-e!

Behold me my land for I have come, I-e-e!
Be fruitful in nuts and in pandanus, be fruitful in nuts-e-e!
The fruitfulness of my land shall fall here, the blossoms and the drupes.
O be fruitful-e-e! Be abundant-e-e! Be fruitful-e-e!

This is repeated thrice. The time is the dark before dawn; the season, any time of the year. No ornaments are used. You must be careful to keep your eyes within the boundaries of your own land.

THE FRUCTIFICATION OF THE PANDANUS

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and the Moon played a large part, was formerly used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest. The ceremony could be performed only by members of three clans, Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua. [9]

The season for the fructification ritual is between July and September, when the south-east trade winds are expected to give way to the westerly rains. The seasonal arrival of these rains is anxiously awaited, because upon it depends the quantity and quality of the pandanus harvest, which is gathered towards the beginning of October.

The ceremony is undertaken in two stages—the first on the seventh night of the lunar month, and the second on about the thirteenth night.

The time of commencement is the hour of sunset. For the first stage, the moon must be approaching the meridian just as the sun is over the western horizon. For the second stage, the

moon must be just risen as the sun is on the point of setting. The essential point is that both luminaries should be visible in the sky when the ritual is begun.

The place is a cleared space on the east side of the performer's dwelling-house, in a straight line with the middle rafter of the roof. [10]

The material prepared for the ritual consists of the parts of a magic tree—a trunk and two branches. The branches are two round wands of pandanus wood, each a span long and as thick as a man's thumb. [11] The trunk is a rounded and tapered shaft of coconut timber, two spans long and about two inches thick at the base. The shaft is decorated at its point with a tuft of five upstanding frigate-bird feathers; the string with which this tuft is lashed on is made of alternate strands of coconut fibre and human hair. Both the feathers and the string have the same important underlying sun idea: the frigate-bird is believed to be the bird of the sun and the spiral pattern of black hair running through the string is believed to be pleasing to the sun. The tuft, when lashed in place, is said to be "the body of the Sun at the crest of the tree." At equal intervals around the base of the sun-tuft are attached four strings of hair and fibre, each a span and a half long, in the manner of maypole strings. Each string is then garnished with frigate-bird feathers in the following arrangement:

Near the top—a tuft of three;
In the middle—a tuft of two;
Near the free end—a single feather;
At the free end—a tuft of five.

These feather decorations are technically named *buka;* the strings which carry them are destined to be draped over the branches of the tree, when the moment comes to lash these latter into position; the technical name of the branches is therefore *manga-ni-buka* 'branches of buka'.

When the decorated pole and the separate branches have been prepared they are taken to the space made ready for them on the east side of the maker's dwelling. A small hole for planting the magic tree is dug, andjustas the sun's "lower limb" is about to touch the western horizon, the first part of the ritual begins.

Stage 1 (Moon's seventh day)

The performer plants the trunk of the tree in the hole. Holding the shaft upright with both hands before him, he throws his head as far backwards as he can, and fixes his eyes upon the sun-tuft above him. He stands silent in this posture for about half a minute, then intones in a low voice the following formula:

> Unikan au bitanikai aio. [12] E bung meang, e bung maiaki, e bung maeao, ma mainiku-o-o-o! [13] E bung Tai ma Namakaina! Ba I ti namanamatia i aon Tai. Tera uotan Tai? E uota te maiu. E uotia tera? Te taba mai buakon ron te iti ma te ro. [14] Kimarimari, au buakonikai-o-o-o!
>
> Planting of this my magic tree. The north gives birth, the south gives birth, the west gives birth, and the east-o-o-o! The Sun gives birth, and the Moon! For I prepare it (the tree) on the overside of the Sun. [15] What is the burden of the Sun? He bears life. What bears he? The young pandanus bloom from the blackness of the rain-cloud. Be abundant, my plantations-o-o-o!

The formula is recited three times, after which the performer turns his face to the ground and remains immobile, holding the shaft upright before him, for perhaps another half-minute. He then proceeds to push loose soil with his feet into the hole at the tree's root, and to stamp it firm.

Only when the tree can stand alone does he release his hold upon the stem, and seat himself at its base, still facing east. The position of his legs is of great ritual importance. His right leg lies doubled before him, knee to ground, tailorwise; but his left thigh is thrust forward, and the lower leg doubled back beside his hip, so that the sole of his foot is presented to the sunset. He believes that, unless the left foot be thus "given to the Sun," he will incur the luminary's displeasure by having the appearance of wholly turning his back upon him.

The performer's first business when seated is to finish with his hands the practical work of making the tree firm in its hole. When that is done, he holds the base of the stem and, throwing back his head to regard the sun-tuft on high, intones:

> Kanenean au bitanikai aei i an Tai ma Namakaina. E tio-otoia, mangan au bita-bongibong aei! [16] E iti, m'e ruo te ba ma te karau, ba katabaean au mataburo. [17] O, te-

> manna te ataeinaine, ba kainan Abatang, ma Abatoa, ma Abaiti-e-e-e! O, antin taberan au bita-bongibong: Auriaria, ma Nei Tewenei, ma anti ni Bouru, Riki, Riki-e-e! I ti oboria, I ti wetei Nei Tituabine ma Riki, ma anti ni Bouru, ba a na kamaurai i an au kai aei. Te mauri ao te raoi. [18] Te mauri naba ngai i an au kai aei!
>
> Setting firm of this my magic tree under Sun and Moon. It flutters and bends, the branch of this my magic-tree-in-the-twilight! The lightning flashes, and the thunder and rain descends, even the fructifiers of my opening pandanus bloom. O, thou certain maiden even the pandanus tree of Abatang and Abatoa and Abaiti-e-e-e! [19] O, spirits of the crest of this my magic tree in the twilight: Auriaria and Nei Tewenei, and the spirits of Bouru, Riki, Riki-e-e! I only prepare the way, I only call Nei Tituabine, and Riki and the spirits of Bouru, that they may prosper me beneath this my tree. Prosperity and peace. Prosperous am I beneath this my tree!

After reciting this formula three times, the performer turns his face towards the ground, remains still for a few seconds, and then arises. The branches of the tree are now fixed in position: they are first lashed middle to middle with hair and fibre string, in the form of a symmetrical cross. The cross is made fast by its middle to the trunk of the tree, shoulder high, so that its branches are parallel to the earth, and point north, south, east, and west, the orientation being controlled by the position of the sun at its setting. Over the ends of the branches are draped the four strings of *buka* ‘feathers’ attached to the sun-crest, with their terminal tufts dangling earthwards. The completed tree is left standing until the moon’s thirteenth night ushers in the second stage of the ritual.

Stage 2 (Moon’s thirteenth day)

Just before sunset, the performer sits on the ground at a distance of about two paces from the tree, back to the sun and face upturned as before, to gaze at the sun-tuft. The sitting attitude already described is once more adopted but, instead of holding the base of the trunk, the performer stretches his arms forward, and lays his loosely opened hands, palms upward, upon the ground beside his thighs. He intones:

> Au bita-bongibong aei, au bita-mataro. Ron Tai rio. E bung i maeao, e bung i mainiku, e bung i taberan au bitanikai aio, m'e a oboria te taba ma te mataburo, ba uotan Tai ma Namakaina. Anti-ro, anti-rang, a batetenako i taberan au bitanikai aei. I ti marimari-e-e, I ti marimari-o-o! Taberan au kai ni kataba aei! [20]
>
> This my magic tree in the twilight, my magic tree in the dusk. Darkness of Sun going west. He gives birth to west of me, he gives birth to east of me, he gives birth at the crest of this my magic tree, and he prepares the way for the young pandanus bloom and the opening pandanus bloom, for these are the burden of Sun and Moon. Spirits of darkness, spirits of madness, they tumble down from the crest of this my magic tree. I am fruitful-e-e, I am fruitful-o-o! Crest of this my tree of fructification!

After three recitations of this formula, the performer remains for a short period of time in his attitude of supplication, then drops his head forward to look upon the ground, and finally rises to his feet. The ceremony is complete. The magic tree may be left where it stands for an indefinite time and may therafter be used for other magico-religious purposes. Barren women are brought to the place, to be rendered fertile; and persons desiring to be blest with good luck (especially in love), good health, and long life may there receive ritual treatment at the hands of the owner. For such ceremonials, the persons receiving attention sit facing eastwards towards the tree, while the performer sits before them in the position already described.

The tree may also be used to remove the curse of a desecrated *rabu*. There cannot be much doubt that the magic staff *(te bitanikai),* which was used for the same purpose, is but a simplified form of the tree. The ceremony of the magic staff could be performed by anyone (if he can learn the ritual and formula), but that of the magic tree was strictly reserved to three privileged social groups. It is therefore probable that the staff represents a popular attempt to achieve the benefits of the tree without too dangerously trenching upon the form and substance of the Sun-Moon ritual.

THE *KABUBU* FIRST-FRUITS RITUAL *MARAKEI*

After the pandanus harvest, which usually occurs during September-October, it was formerly forbidden to partake of any product of the new crop until first-fruits had been offered up, and a ritual rneal eaten at the *boua* 'stone pillar representing the "body" of the ancestral deity' of the totem group. Members of the Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua clans made the offering to the Sun and Moon, but included the names of Auriaria and other ancestral deities in their dedication. Other social groups offered the first-fruits direct to their ancestral deities.

The *boua* of the Karongoa group on Marakei—now, like most of its kind, unhappily destroyed by Christian iconoclasts—was an upstanding monolith of coral rock hewn from the reef and planted in the ground to eastward of the village of Rawanawi. As described by elders who, in pre-Christian days, actually performed the clan rituals, it "stood as high as a man's shoulder" and was about as "broad and thick as a man"; it was, moreover, waisted like a man in the middle, although it seems to have had no definitely marked head. This monolith stood in the centre of a circle of flat stones set edgeways in the ground, so as to form a kerb about a hand's breadth high. The diameter of the circle was, according to the account, "three or four paces": its exact size was not, as it would seem, a matter of importance. The space within the circle was dressed with white shingle and therein were buried the skulls of successive generations of clan elders, all males. The crania of the skulls remained uncovered by shingle, so that they might be anointed with oil on occasions when the cult of the ancestral deity was being observed. Care was taken to avoid burying any skulls due west of the *boua,* because this portion of the circle was reserved for food offerings.

For all everyday and overt purposes, including the normal cult of ancestor, the *boua* represented the body of an ancestral being named Teweia. [21] But for the particular and secret purpose of the first-fruits ritual, it represented no longer Teweia, but the spirit Auriaria. Upon its crest were then perched three red coral blocks, each about the size of two fists, one on top of the other. This addition was known as the *bara* 'hat' of Auriaria.

The date of the first-fruits offering was the second day of the next new moon after the pandanus harvest had been gathered. The hour of the ritual was that of sunset, when both sun and moon were seen together in the sky, the moon setting almost

together with the sun. The material of the offering was a ball of the sweet food called *te korokoro* made of boiled coconut toddy and the desiccated pandanus product called *kabubu.* [22] The *kabubu* used for the purpose was, of course, manufactured from the newly harvested crop.

The ball of *korokoro* was carried to the *boua* by the senior male of the Karongoa clan, all the other men and women of his group following him. The leader wore upon his head a fillet of coconut leaf called the "fillet of the sun." At the place of offering, the whole company assumed the sitting posture adopted by the performer of the fructification ritual, with their backs to the sunset and faces to the stone. The leader took his place a little in advance of the others, right up against the kerb of the circular enclosure. Being seated in the ritual posture, he leaned forward and set the ball of *korokoro* at arm's length before him on the shingle near the base of the stone. Throwing back his head to gaze into the sky immediately above the *boua,* and laying his open hands, palms upward, on the ground by his knees, he intoned:

> Kanami aei, Tai ma Namakaina, ba ana moan nati Nei Kaina-bongibong. Auriaria, ma Nei Tewenei, ma Riki ma antin rabarabani karawa, [23] kanami aei, ba moan taban te bitabongibong. Te mauri ao te raoi. Te mauri naba ngaira-o-o-o!
>
> This is your food, Sun and Moon, even the first child of the woman Pandanus-in-the-twilight. Auriaria, and Nei Tewenei, and Riki, and spirits of the hidden places of heaven, this is your food, even the first young bloom of the magic tree in the twilight. Prosperity and peace. Prosperous indeed are we-o-o-o!

The formula was recited three times. Through the entire ritual that followed, the leader never for a moment ceased to look up into the sky above the stone. Leaning forward, he first groped for the ball of *korokoro* and, having taken it upon the palm of his left hand, returned to an upright posture. Still sitting, he plucked out with his right fingertips a piece of the sticky ball and moulded it into a pellet, which he then laid on the shingle before the stone as "the portion of the Sun and Moon, and Auriaria." This was called the *tarika.* [24] The first portion having thus been given, he proceeded to mould a series of similar pellets, passing each one as it was made back over his

right shoulder, where it was taken by the man behind him, and sent along the ranks of sitting people, until every member of the company had a portion. Absolute silence was observed until the distribution was complete, when the man behind the leader whispered, *"A toa baia"* ("Their hands are all full"). Thereupon the leader made for himself a pellet of the food, and raised it in his right hand above his still-upturned face. At once, the whole company threw their heads back to gaze at the sky above the *boua* and lifted their right arms in a similar attitude. Having allowed time enough for everyone to adopt this posture, the performer dropped the pellet into his mouth and swallowed it whole. The company followed suit. It was essential to the ritual that the bolus should not be bitten.

After a short pause with arm still uplifted, the leader, imitated by the whole assembly, dropped his hand to his side and turned his face to the ground. The "looking downward" lasted for a few seconds only. Finally, the leader arose and, without special ceremony, placed whatever remained of the ball of *korokoro* up against the *boua,* beside the small *tarika,* for the remnant *(nikira)* was the "portion of the Sun, the Moon, and Auriaria." In a lesser degree, this *nikira* also belonged to the other ancestral spirits, Riki, Nei Tewenei, Nei Tituabine, together with the ghosts of those clan elders whose skulls were buried by the *boua.*

Before leaving the spot, the leader anointed the crania of the buried skulls with oil. After he had performed this rite, any other member of the group might do likewise, choosing at his pleasure any or all of the skulls for anointment.

OFFERING OF PANDANUS FIRST-FRUITS TO KARONGOA
TARAWA

On all islands of the northern Gilberts, and probably of the southern Gilberts also, the various social groups sent a portion of their newly collected pandanus harvest to the senior male of the local Karongoa clan before offering first-fruits to their own ancestral deities. On Tarawa this practice is associated with an interesting local tradition concerning a very famous high chief named Kirata the Eldest, a member of the Karongoa group, who flourished between twenty-five and thirty generations ago. It is said that Kirata's favourite food was *te kabubu,* and that the pandanus tree was his *anti.* This is held to be the reason why,

even nowadays, the first portion of every local clan's pandanus harvest is set aside each year as a gift to the senior living descendant of Kirata in the male line. The fundamental reason, of course, is that the line of Kirata represents the essence of Karongoa on Tarawa.

No formalities were observed in submitting the first portion of the first-fruits of Karongoa's acceptance: it was enough to send the gift (consisting of any product whatever of the new pandanus harvest) in a basket, by the hand of a small boy, to the house of the proper recipient. But the penalty for neglecting to make such an offering, before the private clan ritual was undertaken, was believed to be death by lightning-flash or thunderbolt, or other visitation from heaven.

A RITUAL MEAL IN TIME OF FAMINE

Each separate Gilbertese totem group, as a rule, practised the cult of its own ancestral deities independently of all others; but in time of famine, a form of ritual meal was practised. All groups united, with the senior male of Karongoa n Uea as the officiating priest, at a stone pillar representing the body of a being named Tabakea, within a maneaba of a particular style called Maungatabu. The Maungatabu name, meaning "sacred mountain," is also attached to a variety of pandanus tree, and to a volcano, on which grew the Ancestral Pandanus of the head-hunting Gilbertese forefathers.

The being called Tabakea, upon whom the ritual to be described was centred, is associated with four totems: (1) A mythical beast called *te kekenu,* described as "a lizard as big as two men" (no doubt a crocodile or alligator); (2) the common noddy; (3) a small tree called *te ibi,* which bears a scarlet almond-like fruit; and (4) a turtle. Of these, the last is considerably the most important, the name Tabakea itself meaning "parrot-bill turtle." In a widespread series of traditions, Tabakea is represented as the Eldest of All Beings, the First of Things; and in all the tales relating to the adventures and voyages of Auriaria, he appears as Auriaria's father. This doubtless explains why Auriaria's name is linked with Tabakea's in the prayer associated with this ritual.

When famine threatened the community, the elder of Karongoa n Uea would fix a day when food offerings and *tataro* 'supplication' should be made to Tabakea. A stone monolith about six feet high, representing the body of the god, would

Carrying home the pandanus harvest. (Maude photo)

be erected against the Karongoa sun-stone in the maneaba. The monolith was wreathed with coconut leaves by the acolyte group, Karongoa Raereke. Just before dawn on the appointed day, the community would enter the building, bringing with them offerings of food, and sit in their respective clan places. Exactly at sunrise, a watcher posted to observe the eastern horizon would call, *"E oti Tai"* ("The Sun appears"), and a portion of food was laid by the elder of Karongoa n Uea before the stone of the god, to the accompaniment of the following *tataro* 'prayer':

> Aora te amarake, ngkoe, Tabakea. Aora te amarake, ngkoe, Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki. Tautaua maurira, toutoua nako te rongo, te baki, te mate. Kakamauria ataei aikai, karerekea karara. Tai-o, Namakaina-o! Karerekea karara! Te mauri ma te raoi.

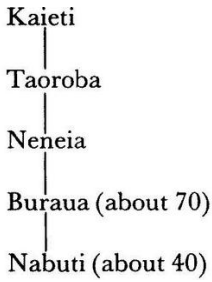
> Our offering the food, thou, Tabakea. Our offering the food, thou, Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki. Uphold our prosperity, tread away the drought, the hunger, the death. Continue to prosper these children, continue to get our food. Sun-o, Moon-o! Continue to get our food! Prosperity and peace.

During the ceremony, all present, whether of the clan of Karongoa or not, wore the fillet of coconut leaf known as the fillet of the Sun *(bunan Tai).* The formula having been recited three times, the fillets were put off, and the remaining food was eaten by the assemblage, which then dispersed.

Ancestor Cult

SIGNIFICANCE OF CEREMONIAL *BOUA*

All through the Gilberts, stone monoliths ranging from eighteen inches to seven or eight feet in height were erected to the various spiritual powers. Generally these powers may be considered to be gods; and they are the gods of the fair-skinned race, for their names are Taburimai, Auriaria, Tituabine, etc. But occasionally they are called not *anti* but *bakatibu* 'ancestors'. When genealogical evidence is sought, however, it generally fails to lead back to any ancestor of the name given to the stone. But a concrete case comes from Marakei, in which an ancestor who lived only five generations ago is definitely the *atua* of a stone bearing his name near the village of Temotu. The following is a list of his lineal descendants (eldest sons of eldest sons) until today:



Kaieti was a great fighter and traveller in his day. At one time, he and his party were driven out of Marakei and had to take refuge in Abaiang. Collecting his forces there, however, he was soon strong enough to make war on his former conquerors and return in triumph to Marakei. Soon after this he died and is said

A ceremonial boua. (Wilkes 1845, 5:110)

to have appeared in a dream to his son Taoroba, and to have told him to erect a *boua* 'monolith' to him. Whatever may be the truth about the dream, it is certain that Taoroba erected the *boua,* which stands to this day, and of which the origin was witnessed by old men still living on Marakei. The worship at this stone appears to be exactly the same in type as the cult of the ancestral skull.

Either the collected *utu* or single individuals of the *utu* may visit the place and, after laying *karea* 'propitiatory offerings' at its base, present their petition to the ancestral spirit. If the ceremony is collective, the eldest male representative of the senior branch of the *utu* makes his prayer on behalf of all; if an individual performs alone, he prays for himself alone.

Kaieti is also said to have given his son a charm by which he might be called to answer questions in the whistling speech. But this call was made through the intermediary of the skull of Kaieti, not the stone. While the worship at the stone continued, the family also used the skull at home, thus duplicating the form in which the ancestor cult was sustained.

SKULL CULTS

The removal of the skull from the grave of a buried father, mother, grandfather, or grandmother was universal in the Gilberts. The skull was kept on a little mat specially woven for the occasion and was placed on a shelf in the house of the owner. It was considered liable to affront and was therefore never put on the floor of the house for fear that in standing above it a member of the household might insult it with a view of his sexual organs. Nor were children allowed to approach it, lest some rough game of theirs might cause offence. The idea underlying this anxiety to pay all respect to the skull was that the ancestor to whom the skull belonged would, if ill-treated, refuse to help his descendants when asked in time of trouble; he might even punish them by visiting them with terrifying dreams, from which they would awake insane and with wasting diseases such as *te kangenge* 'consumption'.

Some households would every day place a small portion of food on the shelf beside the skull; it was the duty of the closest or the most beloved relative of the deceased to eat his food on his behalf at the day's end. This was a universal practice, but with most households it was less regularly performed.

When tobacco was introduced, it became the custom on every island of the Gilbert Group to allow the skull to share the household pipe. The skull was held between the palms before the face of the smoker, who inserted the bowl of the pipe into his own mouth and the stem into the jaws of the skull. He then blew down the bowl so that the smoke was driven back through the stem into the gaping jaws. He would address affectionate familiarities to the skull while thus occupied: *"E uara? E kangkang?"* ("How is that? Is it tasty?") and so on.

This sort of conversation was typical of all the relations of the household with the skull. It was a member of the family, as susceptible of offence or pleasure, and as alive to conversations and events beneath that roof, as any human being. It was their friend. While busy about the house a man might throw it an occasional remark as naturally as to his father or brother; or at any time of the day he might take a little oil on his palm and rub it on the cranium of the skull, just as he would perform such an office with smiling yet deferential kindness to one of his living senior relations.

The explicit reason in the native mind for this *akoi* 'kindness', or 'deference' accorded to the skull was that the ghost of the ancestor was always near it—not precisely situated

within it, but enveloping it as an atmosphere, watching it, and feeling emotions of pleasure or pain in proportion as it was honoured, fed, or abused.

When a particular need made itself felt in the household, the help of the deceased ancestor was enlisted through the medium of the skull. A day was appointed on which all the members of the household should meet in the house.

The senior living descendant of the ancestor would anoint the cranium with scented oil, and wreaths of flowers were hung about it. Food was laid beside it as a *karea* 'propitiatory offering', and probably a pipe and a stick of tobacco would accompany the food. Just after noon the senior member would lift the skull from its shelf and elevate it above his face between his palms; then drawing it close to his cheek he would whisper into its ear the special request that he wished to make on behalf of his people. The following is a typical example of such a prayer:

> Toakai-o! tautau maurira; toutoua nako te aoraki; ba ti mauri iroum; ti aki bua, ti aki taro; te mauri ao te raoi—te mauri!
>
> Toakai-o! Keep hold of our safety; trade away the sickness; for we are safe through thee; we are not lost, we are not deserted; safety and peace—safety!

There was no special form of words used in these prayers. In nearly every example I collected, certain phrases appeared again and again, such as the universal *"te mauri ao te raoi. "* But the form of words in which a request was made was entirely at the will of the performer, whose duty it was to state as clearly as he knew how the particular desire which he wished to convey to the ancestor.

I have described here the procedure followed when a collective request was made to protect a household from an epidemic sickness. In like manner a whole *utu* might be gathered together in the maneaba to appeal for the ancestor's protection in time of war, for his help in famine or drought, or for his good offices on any important occasion whatever in which the *utu* had an interest.

At other times the simple ceremonial could be still further simplified. A single individual might, if a member of the household, go himself informally without preparation to the skull, and after blowing a little tobacco smoke into its jaws as a propitiatory offering, state in its ear whatever small request he

had to make. Any member of the household was at liberty, as the wish seized him, to make a little private offering of food either before or after his prayer and breathe an appeal into the ear of the skull for the general protection of the house.

Sometimes the ancestor would appear in a dream to one of his descendants and would tell him a form of words with which his ghost might be made to converse in whistling noises. The owner of such a charm would generally keep it secret from the other members of the house, but on request, when advice was needed by the household, he would consent to call up the ancestral ghost and ask it the desired questions. The skull was the intermediary through which the ghost was called. Offerings were made to it by the *ibonga* 'medium', and it was anointed by him with oil in the usual manner. Then he lifted it from its place and whispered the charm into its ear. Here is an example of such a call:

> O-o! N na weweteia Toakai mai abana, mai abana; e a roko, ba e a roko ni maneabara aio, be a roko!
>
> O-o! I shall call him Toakai from his land, from his land; he arrives, for he arrives in our maneaba here, for he arrives!

As soon as the charm is done, the ghost makes his presence known by a gentle whistling under the ridge-pole of the maneaba. It is the function of the *ibonga* to interpret the sounds made to the onlookers. The ghost will answer in his musical language all the questions put to him—the belief being that if an answer proves afterwards to be wrong, it is certainly the fault of the *ibonga* and not the ghost.

Sometimes the species of oracle thus instituted through the medium of the skull became so famous for its infallibility that people of other households and *utu* came to consult it. They would bring propitiatory offerings of food and tobacco to the *ibonga,* who after giving *te moan tiba* 'the first share' to the skull would keep the rest as payment. In this way an ancestral ghost would obtain prestige and reverence outside the circle of his own *utu*. [1]

CULT OF TEWEIA OF BERU TEITIRERE, *MARAKEI*

Teitirere, an old man of over eighty on Marakei, describes the cult of his ancestor Teweia, who was the builder of the maneaba for Tanentoa of Beru. On Marakei the *utu* descended from Teweia had a stone, about half a man's height, set up as a post in the ground on the east side of the island. This stone was called the body of Teweia. Nevertheless, it was not considered to be the actual *atua* or spiritual power, which was the ghost of Teweia, but it was the medium through which the ghost was approached, and was so inalienably connected with the ghost that whosoever did it an insult or injury caused pain to the spiritual power and was liable to sudden death or illness. On the top of the monolith were perched three lumps of red coral, each about as big as two fists, and one on top of the other. These were said to be the head of Teweia. A flat stone was laid on the ground at the western side of the base of the monolith. On this stone were laid all offerings of food brought to the ghost.

On occasions of stress or danger, the senior member of the *utu* would signify that a general assembly *(te toa)* of the *utu* would be made at the stone for the purpose of offering gifts of food to the ghost and *tataro* 'prayers' for his help. He would appoint the day.

The *utu* would arise in the early morning at about cock-crow and gather before the stone before sunrise. They would squat in a semi-circle on the west side of the stone, facing east towards it. They brought food with them. First portions of this food, and later also sticks of tobacco and a filled pipe, were laid on the flat offering-stone. Then the *utu* would eat the remainder in silence. When the meal was done the people put on their heads a fillet each made of a single pinnule from the crest of a coconut tree, knotted in front. The senior of the *utu* (but always a male) would then go and squat before the stone and address to it, in his own words, the particular request that he had come to make. After this, the people dispersed, leaving the offerings on the stone of offering.

CULT OF UAKEIA AND KABURORONTEUN
MARAKEI

On Marakei there is a stone that bears the name of the ancestor Uakeia, who was the leader of the Beruan conquerors who invaded and settled this island about nine generations ago. At this stone the *utu* descended through the male and female line from Uakeia made their *tataro* in time of need. A collection of the whole *utu* for the sake of *tataro* was called *te toa,* a word which since Christian times has been applied to any general gathering for religious purposes.

The stone was broad and flat, being set in a recumbent position, not standing. Beneath the stone were buried the skull of Uakeia himself and the skulls of ancestors subsequent to Uakeia. These ancestors were called *bouan te atibu,* 'the posts of the stone', the word *boua* being the name ordinarily applied to the studs of a house or maneaba.

Although this stone bore the name of Uakeia, and although all the ancestors were expressly believed to listen to the *tataro* offered here, the prayers and offerings were made to the single ancestor Kaburoronteun, who was (and still is) described as the ancestor of Uakeia. The explanation of this is most probably that Uakeia himself, whose name the stone bears, was its originator and first instituted the cult of his ancestor on Marakei.

Before the *tataro* was made, the stone was encircled by three fillets of coconut leaflet, one in the middle and one at each end. The prayer offered was of the following character:

> Aora te amarake, nkoe Kaburoronteun. Tautau maurira, toutoua nako te aoraki, Kakamauria ataei aikai, Karerekea karara.
>
> Our offering the food, thou Kaburoronteun. Keep hold on our safety, tread away the sickness, continue to save their children these, continue to get our food.

The pedigree of some of the descendants of Uakeia who made the *tataro* to Kaburoronteun is given in Figure 3.

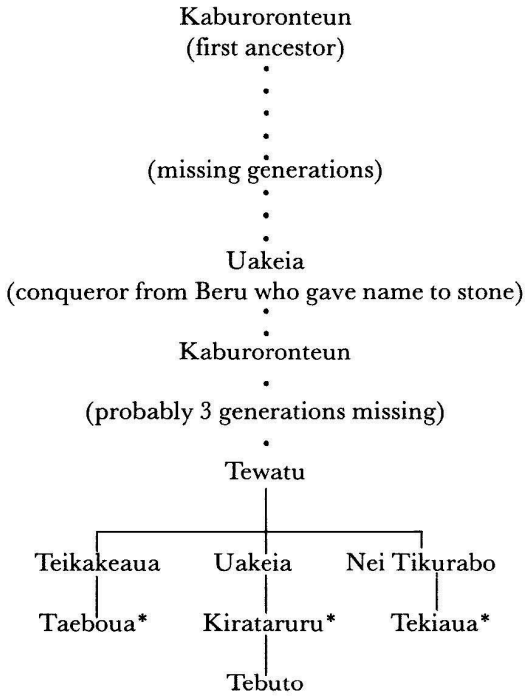


Figure 3. Descendants of Uakeia who made tataro to Kaburoronteun. My three informants, of whom the youngest was not less than 65 years old, are indicated by asterisks (*).

PRAYER TO NEI KANNA NATAU, *MARAKEI*

At the *tataro* to the stone of the ancestress Nei Kanna, from whom the Beruan conqueror Tetonganga on Marakei was descended, the old man Natau used the same formula of words as employed in connexion with the planting of the stone called Tai 'Sun' in the maneaba. Natau informed me that this formula was always used by his ancestors for the double purpose:

> Aora te amarake nkoe Nei Kanna. Toutoua nako te mibuaka ma te aoraki; tautaua mauriu ma au botanaomata.

> Our offering the food thou Nei Kanna. Tread away the evil dreaming with the sickness; keep hold upon my safety with my collection of people.

The whole *utu* was gathered for such a *tataro* at dawn. Food was brought by each member. A share was set on the flat stone lying at the base of the monolith. The senior male officiated. The people sat in a complete circle around the stone, wearing fillets of coconut pinnules. The offering and prayer were made. After this the people ate and then departed. Food was left by the stone. The skull of the ancestor Tetonganga was buried by the monolith.

PRAYER TO AN *UTU* ANCESTOR MADE AT HIS *BOUA* TAM, AGED ABOUT 52, *MARAKEI*

> Aora te amarake, Kaieti-o! Buokira; Tautau maurira; toutoua nako te buaka; oroia, bakarereia, itui matia; ti aki bua, ti aki taro; te mauri ao te raoi; te mauri.
>
> Our offering of food, Kaieti-o! Help us; Keep hold on our safety; tread away the war; strike them, pierce them, sew their eyes together (as fish); we are not lost, we are not deserted; safety and peace; safety.

Ancestral Lands

BUTARITARI LAND NAMES: CLASSIFIED BY ASSOCIATION

Names derived from natural accidents

Aonteba	on the bedrock
Temanoku	the bight
Nanonterawa	the ocean passage
Tebokaboka	the swamp
Tabontengea	the place of the pemphis (ironwood)
Teaoraereke	the narrow surface

Names derived from historical or legendary associations

EVENTS

Temaunginaomata	the putrefying of men (after a battle)
Temaungatabu	the sacred hillock (after a taboo placed on a piece of rising ground by an *uea*)
Tebukinibanga	legendary
Tetaenibwe	legendary
Tebora	a gift for *tinaba* (a gift of land given by the *uea* to a woman's husband)
Tebuaka	a war
Tennaniborau	the voyaging fleet

MYTHICAL ASSOCIATIONS

Terarikiriki, Tebukintake, Rauta.

Religio-mythical associations

Te Tabakea, Nan Tabakea, Te Aitabakea, Te Aikarewerewere.

Religious associations

Te Umananti, Te Abanimate, Tebangota, Tekauti.

Ancestral lands

Onouna, Abaiti, Matang, Birewan, Bouro, Mwaiku, Beru, Tamoa, Muribenua, Kiroro, Manra, Birewan, Bikara, Bangkai, Bangai, Mone.

Other islands

Abaiang, Tarawa, Marakei, Abemama, Kuria, Abatiku, Abariringa.

Other countries

Nutiran (New Zealand), Watiniton (Washington), Terine (Sydney), Biti (Fiji), Rotuma, Taiti (Tahiti).

BUTARITARI LAND NAMES (ASSOCIATION, IF ANY, UNASCERTAINED)

Abaoti, Abarao, Ano, Antimai, Aonibei, Arauri, Autikia, Bankai, Bankenna, Benuake, Bikewa, Bikou, Bino, Birewan, Boaki, Bokiroro, Bunuaka, Buota, Ewena, Kabinea, Kaionobi, Kaitang, Kamatao, Kiboru, Koiroa, Kotirawa, Mabutang, Manga, Mangirere, Marake, Marieta, Marube, Mata, Mauriki, Mire, Momokirang, Mwake, Nakiroro, Namoka, Namorara, Nangiro, Natata, Neinauti, Neingongo, Nenearo, Ninobi, Nukuan, Onawa, Onobaki, Onoiuna, Orawi, Oretenge, Otua, Rama, Ranongana, Rarango, Renren, Tabei, Tabeibei, Tabokao, Tanabo, Taribo, Taruoaieta, Taunata, Taunrawa, Tawaiti, Tebokiawai, Teere, Teike, Teineita, Tekerau, Tenaeriki, Terabi, Terangaba, Teukin, Tiaon, Tontonna, Tureia, Tuta, Tutara, Ubantakoto, Uee, Umaia-ataei, Waki, Wikiki

LANDS MENTIONED IN GILBERTESE ORAL TRADITION

Southern lands

Tamoa, Tawai, Uboru, Nukumaroro (Aka-manono-aba), Butuna, Tonga, Rotima, Nanumea, Nuku-betau, "eight islands to the south of Abariringa."

Eastern lands

Maiawa, Makaiao, Nangiro (NE of Banaba).

Western lands

a. Tabeuna, Ranga-aba (or Teranga-aba), Bu-kiroro (or Kiroro), Onouna, Taiki, Matang, Ruanuna, Benua-kura, Mone, Bare, Abaiti (or Aba-tiku), Aba-toa, Baban, Mao, Kita.

b. Tebongiroro (the "line of western islands"), according to Nei Tearia of Banaba: Matairango, Bike-n-onioniki, Kabi-n-tonga, Tanabai, Roro (SW of Banaba), Waituru, Nabanaba.

c. Tebongiroro, according to Na Ateke of Butaritari: Bikara, Kabi-n-tonga, Maiawa, Tabo-n-noto, Ba-n-tongo, Aba-oraora, Katatake-i-eta.

d. Lands of the departed spirits (also mentioned in the Song of Moiua): Manra, Bouru, Neineaba, Marira, Mwaiku.

GILBERTESE PLACE NAMES COMPARED WITH THOSE IN THE EAST INDIES

See Table 1.

PEOPLE FROM THE WEST
ONOTOA

There is a tradition of Onotoa that before the coming of the people from Samoa, the island had one inhabitant whose name was Teboi. When he had lived there for some time a canoe came from a land in the west with two men in it, named Takeakea and Kaibebeku. On arrival at Onotoa their canoe capsized: The name of the canoe was Teranga, and so the place near which it capsized was called Teranga-aba. Takeakea and Kaibebeku

settled on Onotoa and brought a wife named Nei Karabung from Nikunau to live with them. They bred many children, who lived on the island until the arrival of the people of Samoa.

The name of the canoe (and the land called after it) brings to mind the name of the land next to Bouru in Indonesia—Serang. If this is a memory of an old land called Serang or Teranga, it is a good illustration of Max Müller's hypothesis that myth is a disease of language. The word *ranga* in Gilbertese happens to mean "capsize." The name having been applied to a district in Onotoa as a memory of an ancient land name, its true significance was lost; a myth of the capsizing of a canoe was then invented to explain the meaning of the word.

THE STORY OF OBAIA-TE-BURAERAE
BUTARITARI

The Butaritari version of this story, which is similar in all salient points to the Tarawa version, [1] gives an interesting list of the lands in the west over which Obaia was blown by his brother Tabuariki-the-Wind before he found a foothold on Onouna.

According to the Butaritari informant:

> The wind beat him westward over Banaba, and over Onaoru (Nauru) also. He wished to settle there, but his feet found no hold. Indeed, he was beaten westward by the wind over the island of Tebuariki also, and Bari-bari, and Tabukin-anti. He wished to settle there, but his feet found no hold. He was beaten westward again by the wind. Then he stretched out his feet to settle on the island of Ruaniwa (Lieueniua), but they found no hold, for the wind carried him over to the west. And again he saw a land below him; and lo, he floated above it, for the wind abated; and he found foothold there. The name of that land was Onouna; it was very far to the west.

After this the story coincides with the Tarawa account, but gives the extra detail that the name of Nei Katura's father was Terabanga.

Table 1. Gilbertese place names compared with those in the East Indies

GILBERTESE	INDONESIAN
Bankai (Butaritari)	Banka (Sumatra)
Bangai (Tabiteuea)	Bangka (N. Celebes), Banggai (E. Celebes)
Matang (general)	Mattang (Sarawak), Majang (SW Borneo), Matan (SW Borneo), Medan (NE Sumatra) Medang (NE Sumatra), Mutan (Celebes)
Katabanga (general)	Ketapang (Java)
Bare (general)	Bali, Pare-pare (Celebes)
Beru	Berou (Borneo), Berou (N. New Guinea)
Birewan (Butaritari)	Palawan (Philippines)
Kuma (Butaritari)	Kumai (Borneo)
Tabanga (general)	Sabang (Sumatra)
Abaiti (Butaritari)	Sawai (Ceram)
Tawaiti (Tarawa)	Sawai (Ceram)
Tarawa	Talowa (Celebes), Salawaiti (N. New Guinea)

Onouna (Butaritari, Tarawa Tabiteuea)	Onin (NW New Guinea), Unauna (Celebes)
Bouru (Banaba)	Bouru Island, Pulu Babi (NW Sumatra)
Mwaiku (Tarawa)	Weigiu (N. New Guinea)
Mwaikiu (Butaritari, Makin)	Weigiu (N. New Guinea)
Bikati (Butaritari)	Bekasi (Java)
Banaba	Palopa (Celebes)
Betio (Tarawa, pronounced Bedjio)	Pidjiu (Lombok)
Kota (Makin)	Kota Baru (Sumatra, Borneo)
Taribo (Makin, Nonouti)	Taliabo Island
Teranga (Marakei)	Serang (Ceram)
Terangaba (land of Teranga)	Serang (Ceram)
Kiroro (Butaritari)	Gilolo
Obu (Makin)	Obi Islands

Manra (general)	Banda Islands
Balo, Baro (Makin)	Palu (Celebes)
Marira	Manila (Philippines)
Mire (Butaritari)	Miri (Borneo)
Mangiree (Makin)	Mangerai (W. Flores)

LOCALITY OF MONE *BUTARITARI*

Mone is said by the people of Butaritari and Makin to lie *i nano.* This word has two meanings: either "down below"/"in the depths," or "in the west" (where the sun goes into the depths).

The Makin people and the Gilbertese generally apply *i nano* to Mone, intending to signify that this land is in the depths, but it is significant to note that Mone is not in the depths on the eastern side of any island; it is on the western side.

If we assume that Mone is one of the ancestral lands in the west, we have in all the tales concerning "Mone-in-the-depths" another illustration of Müller's hypothesis. The sense of the word *i nano* was lost; another meaning has been attached to it, and on this interpretation has been built up a whole series of mythical details concerning a land under the sea.

Nei Momatie-ni-Mone is the spirit on the western side of the island who sets up the wall of invisibility *(kibenanimata)* which prevents people from seeing the spirits of Mone. On the eastern side there is a spirit named Nei Teramera who prevents departing shades from going east, saying "There is no land here."

AURIARIA, NEI TITUABINE, AND THE LAND OF MATANG
BANABA

Nei Tituabine was indeed an inhabitant of Matang, in the west, and there was also a certain inhabitant of Matang, her brother, whose name was Auriaria, and his wife was Nei Tewenei. That company went on living in Matang; and the manner of them was that they were High Chiefs.

Auriaria was of exceeding beauty, he was red-skinned and of a giant's stature, and he was courted by the women of that land.

Auriaria went abroad one day, and he met with Nei Tituabine. She was a woman of unequalled beauty, for she also was red-skinned, and the pupils of her eyes flashed, even as it were the lightning in heaven. The man went towards her, and when he came to her he said thus: "Woman, how great in me is the love of thee." As for her, she answered saying thus: "Sir, I also indeed love thee." And behold! Auriaria committed incest with that sister of his, Nei Tituabine.

And Nei Tewenei, the wife of Auriaria, was angry when she heard, for she was jealous; and so she ran away from her husband. She mounted on her canoe, she travelled eastwards, she came to Tarawa. She stayed a while at Tarawa, and again she set forth to Maiana; she settled on that land, and she named the place where she settled Arinnanona. [2]

And Auriaria did not cease to make love with Nei Tituabine, but he begot no children upon her. And behold! Nei Tituabine fell ill. She felt her death approaching and she spoke to that man, saying: "How sad it is now that I am about to die, and there is no child of mine to remain with thee as the comforter of thy sorrow! But come, still thy heart, for there is a thing which shall grow as a memorial of me with thee. When I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou shalt await the tree which shall grow over me; and if any [tree] grow, thou shalt care for it."

She died and Auriaria buried her. A while passed, and a tree grew from the top of her head, even the coconut. And a second tree grew from her navel, the almond; [3] and the third grew from her heels, the pandanus. These were the things that grew from within the body of Nei Tituabine and they remained after her as the comforters of Auriaria's sorrow; for when he drank a coconut he rubbed noses with her; [4] and when he was wrapped in his sleeping-mat he met her body; [5] and his food, the first-fruits of the pandanus and the almond, was also the body of that woman.

And those trees, indeed, were carried by Auriaria wherever he voyaged, as a memorial of Nei Tituabine forever.

We can recognize the western land of Matang pictured in this myth as the place populated by the betel-chewing, fair-skinned ancestral deities of the *renga*-Paradise traditions, [6] and as the ancient fatherland of the head-hunting Tree-folk, the tawny-skinned Breed of Matang, with their deities Auriaria and Nei Tituabine. [7]

According to one set of tales, concerned chiefly with the voyages and adventures of Auriaria, Matang is a four-square island, peopled by "old gods" *(antin ikawai),* unattainable by human beings because when approached it either "flies to heaven" or "sinks beneath the sea." This Matang is believed by some chroniclers to lie near Samoa, but others believe it is placed next to the Land of Bouru in the west—an association that is confirmed in the *renga*-Paradise traditions. The "old gods" who rule the land are Tangaroa with his brothers Timirau, Taubareroa, Rabaraba, Teborata, and Bwebwe-n-renga. All these are the "fathers" of the heroine, Nei Tituabine, whose picture (as already described in the text) is that of a beautiful red-skinned girl with eyes as bright as lightning.

This association of Nei Tituabine with lightning is not merely figurative. In traditional stories the red lightning of the westerly storm-clouds is sometimes called "the *renga* of Nei Tituabine"; [8] both in the Matang stories and in general tradition, her appearance upon the scene is commonly pictured as being heralded by a lightning flash. The lightning is said by some to take vengeance upon those who disturb her totem creature at sea, the giant ray, [9] while any person (whatever his totem group may be) who consistently abstains from molesting this creature is believed to be safe from the lightning flash if any kind of ray appears in his vicinity during a storm. Although Nei Tituabine is no longer recognized as a "departmental" deity of lightning, she once occupied that position in the pantheon of the Gilbertese forefathers. This serves to stress her family likeness to all those other gods sprung from the Ancestral Tree—the red-skinned eaters of *renga* in the land of Matang—whose astronomical and meteorological associations are so plainly marked: Nei Tewenei, the Meteor; Riki, the Milky Way; Tabuariki, the Thunderer; and, above all, her brother-paramour, the presiding spirit of the Tree, Auriaria, whom the evidence records as a Sun-god.

The tradition of redness, or fairness of skin, which has been seen to cling so closely to the people and gods of Matang, is well supported in our myth, and is further emphasized by two useful

pieces of social evidence. The first is that the tedious bleaching process called *te ko,* [10] to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected, was undertaken with the avowed intention of reproducing the ancient fairness of the Matang people, and the second is that when Europeans first appeared in the Gilbert Group, they were immediately called, because of their fair complexion, I-Matang (inhabitants of Matang), a name that they bear today.

In the domain of material culture, the name of Matang is found attached to the weapon known as *te koro-matang,* a heavy cigar-shaped throwing stick, pointed at both ends, formerly much used in war. As a land name it is ubiquitous, there being no Gilbert island without its Matang. As a plant name, it belongs to a variety of pandanus tree, *te Ara-matang,* still cultivated in the Gilberts. [11]

It is such small concrete facts which, linking themselves with the evidence of tradition, help to set the original Matang within the category of material realities.

Animals

CATS
BUTARITARI

When cats were new to Butaritari (they seem to have first been brought by whalers in the 1840s) they were much prized. They were treated as human beings and were adopted as children and grandchildren. Land was given to the person who adopted a cat, under the title of *te ban uri,* [1] exactly as in the case of human beings. When two cats were mated, the full ritual of the marriage ceremony was performed over them. [2]

DOGS

The dog *(te kiri)* was considered a great delicacy, but under the influence of European ideas it is no longer eaten, the Gilbertese being now almost ashamed when reminded that dog-flesh once formed part of their diet. [3]

It is commonly believed that dogs were first introduced into the Gilberts by Europeans, but this is an error. Island tradition speaks of a dog being owned by a Beruan called Teikake when Tewatu of Matang landed on Beru twenty or more generations ago.

The warrior Uakeia is also reported to have owned a dog, which he fed exclusively on fish. For this reason, when he had conquered an island, he always seized the islets and the extremities of the land where fish were plentiful.

Six generations ago a Tarawan named Tokitoba is said to have owned a dog, and there are still old men living who remember as children hearing of dogs before the first reintroduction of the species by Europeans.

It seems, however, that native dogs were becoming scarcer and scarcer during the generations preceding the coming of the Flag, so that at the arrival of the British Government in 1892 it is doubtful if there were any animals of the indigenous breed in the Gilbert Group.

Archaeology

THE TERRACES ON BANABA

On the eastern coasts of Banaba, where the land goes down to the beaches, are to be seen long terraces or platforms perched upon the bedrock. From the beaches (which they overhang) the fronts of these terraces, always facing east, look like sea-walls.

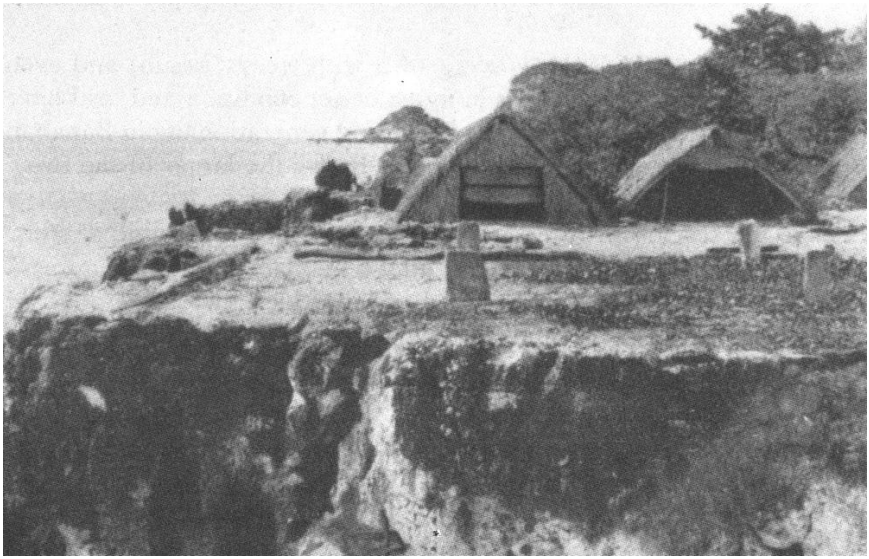
The method of construction seems to have been first to build walls of uncemented rocks along the edge of the bedrock, and then to fill in the space behind them with stones and earth. When the filling was brought flush with the tops of the walls it was levelled and covered with a few inches of white shingle.

The platforms were made by the unmarried men of the various villages. They do not seem to have been the property of any single family or any particular village.

Here the boys of the island gathered, played, and slept, from the age of about eight or nine until they married. No woman was allowed in or near the neighbourhood.

The semi-banishment of the unmarried boys to the terraces seems to have been the Banaban equivalent of the Gilbertese practice of isolating the young men on the eastern side of the island. But whereas, in the Gilberts, the boy's only companion and instructor was his grandfather or adoptive grandfather, a Banaban youth had plenty of friends around him—in fact, a whole colony of them.

So it was on the eastern side of the island, in a condition of ordered seclusion, that the Banaban boy learned the arts of life. His senior male relatives would visit him periodically and instruct him in the use of weapons, the science of *itau* 'boxing' and the various forms of magic.



The terrace of Aon Neina, showing the Karieta canoe sheds and the stone boua of the former Karieta maneaba. (Maude photo, reproducedfrom Journal of the Polynesian Society, Maude and Maude 1932, Figure 6)

Boys were not confined to the terraces for the whole period of their adolescence. They might return from time to time to their villages and sleep in their parents' houses. Then at the command of their father they would be sent off again for a definite period, ranging from one to six months, rather as an English boy is sent to boarding school.

During their residence on the terrace, the boys had no domestic cares. Their food was brought from the villages by male relations.

The sleeping houses were built on the terraces back from the sea, leaving a clear space some twenty paces wide to the edge of the containing wall.

One of the terraces is now overgrown with weeds, scrub, and even large pemphis trees. Another is in much better condition and, as I have found out, is kept in repair by the fast-dying generation of old Banaban men who still remember past days. It is by far the larger of the two I have examined.

Some ten feet back from the edge of the sea-wall is a line of stone monuments, which at once excite attention. The middle monument (there are seven in all) is composed of large blocks

or slabs of stone which seem to have become disarranged with the passage of years. Their arrangement, however, still suggests that formerly they formed a table-like group.

As they lie at present there are two slabs much wider and longer than the rest lying upon a group of smaller and more irregular stones, some five or six in number. Several slabs of a containing wall are still to be seen.

Flanking this "table," three on either side, are monuments of uniform design. Each consists of a central stone—a small monolith some two feet high—set on end in the earth and surrounded by four flat stones lying about its base.

The flat stones are of irregular size, some much smaller than others, but the number (four) is always uniform. The central monolith is in every case larger at the top than at the base. The shape recalls vaguely that of a human head and neck, or at least it suggests the possibility that it might have been a head and neck when the race was more skilled in stone work.

The ruins of a small hut still stand on the terrace. It is well back towards the landward edge, immediately in line with the central tablelike structure of flat stones. A few feet in front of its northern corner-post lies a large flat slab of stone which was probably a seat.

Perched among the rocky pinnacles by the sea, in the neighbourhood of the terrace, are numerous small platforms, counterparts in miniature of the terrace itself, but big enough only to hold one sitting man. Sometimes these private magic platforms were made of a single flat stone. These were the places where the young men perched to do the magic called *kauti*.

This was performed at sunrise every morning, facing east. It consisted of a ritual washing with salt water contained in a coconut shell. The main part of the ceremony was that the rising sun must be faced, just as the main object in sending a boy to the terrace was to make him face the sun in his sleep. From the sun came the essential principles of health and strength, which made him a good warrior. [1]

STONE MONUMENTS
BANABA

Beside many Banaban houses are to be seen stones which are pointed out by the Islanders as *bakatibu* 'ancestors'. They all have personal names, whether male or female. They often have a very rough semblance to the human form, and whatever their

shape may be, they always have one end called definitely the "head" and another the "feet." The stones do not generally exceed a couple of feet in length. Some of them simply lie on the ground; others show only their upper parts above the soil. Many of them seem to be merely the tops of pinnacles of the solid bedrock of the island.

Although these stones are called "ancestors," direct genealogical enquiry always meets a blank wall. One may easily trace a line back to the ancestor who carried (or is reputed to have carried) a stone with him when his canoe first came to Banaba. One may also find out that a particular stone was once an actual person, who landed with a certain canoe's crew and was related to one of the crew who became a true ancestor. But I have never yet succeeded in proving genealogically that one of these ancestral stones was supposed to be an ancestor from whom a particular local line sprang. If one asks a Banaban if he or she is directly descended from such a stone, the answer will always be in the negative.

In the village of Tabiang, on the south coast of Banaba, there are two stones named respectively Ketoa (a man) and Karamakuna (a woman: Ketoa's wife). In the traditional tale, these two landed from a canoe near Tabiang with another man, whose name was Bakauaneku. They both became stones on landing. Bakauaneku underwent a similar change and can be seen on the reef at low tide.

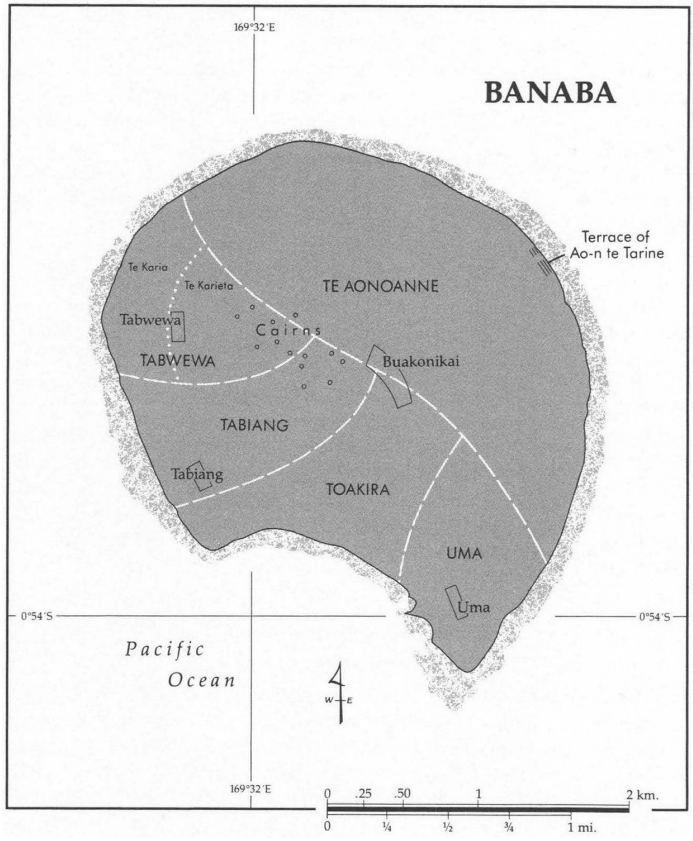


Figure 4. Banaba. Boundaries show village districts.

Birth

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

When a woman was known to be pregnant her condition was kept secret, for fear of those who by sorcery [*te wawi* or *te wauna*] might contrive the death of mother and child. [1] The remains of all her food were retained, as was everything that touched her body.

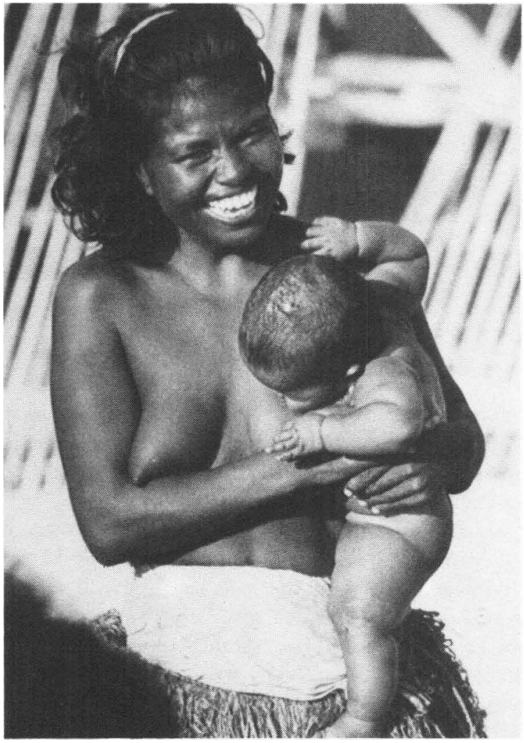
When it was visible to all that she was pregnant a piece of land was prepared for her on the ocean beach. To this she was taken for the ceremony called *eremao* 'cutting of the *mao* scrub', with the incantations called *eremao* and *marainai.* She was given to wear a girdle made of the bark of the *kanawa* tree twisted into strands. This was when she was in her sixth month.

When the time of delivery arrived, a midwife came to prepare her with *tabunea* known as *te tobi.* And when she was in labour, she sat before another woman called the deliverer *(tia katoka)* who also employed an appropriate *tabunea.* If the delivery was long or painful she was given a magic potion to drink by a third woman, who awaited such an event.

When the child was born, it remained three days in the house of its birth and was then said to have "completed its days in the House of Spirits"—the chief spirit to appease with spells being Nei Aibong of the horizon.

After three days the child was taken to another house and was said to "enter the House of Man." Its mats and coverings were all changed for new. The clan welcomed the child with a feast and a dance in which its luck was intoned.

The nursing mother was forbidden to walk in the sun, because it was considered bad for the milk. When, rarely, she went out she covered her head with a mat and her breasts with a *riri.*



Mother and child. (Carmichael & Knox-Mawer 1968, 20 pp. after p. 40)

Only two foods were allowed her: *karuoruo* [fresh toddy] and fish. Of all fish, the beach crab was said to give the richest milk. She would have no sexual connection for a year. [2]

BIRTH ON BUTARITARI

The midwife cut the cord. The child was named by mother and father (merely a matter of arrangement). The name was chosen from among the ancestors of the man or woman.

BIRTH ON NONOUTI

When the fragment of umbilical cord falls from the child's navel, it is carefully preserved in an *uri* [*Guettarda speciosa*] leaf until the child is old enough to walk. The leaf is then put into the child's hand, and he or she is told to throw it into the sea. If the child throws it far out, he or she will be a great voyager.

The child's stool is preserved in a leaf and buried in a hole far from any fire. The belief is that if it is burned the child will become a leper.

TE WAUNA 'DEATH MAGIC'
NEI TEKOTARA (ABOUT 65), *MARAKEI*

A *tikunei* 'small grey lizard' was caught from a coconut trunk and put alive into a *binobino* 'coconut shell'. A cork was then made from the midrib of a leaf, and the *binobino* stoppered with it. This was held in the left hand and gently tapped on the cork with the palm of the right hand. The accompanying *tabunea* was as follows:

Tikunei, tikunei
E reke ran natin neienne?
E reke bain natin neienne!
E reke ran natin neienne?
E reke nukan natin neienne!
E reke ran natin neienne?
E reke waen natin neienne!
Tikunei, tikunei!

Tikunei, tikunei.
What part have you got of that woman's child?
I have the hands of that woman's child!
What part have you got of that woman's child?
I have the waist of that woman's child!
What part have you got of that woman's child?
I have the feet of that woman's child!
Tikunei, tikunei.

There is no orientation prescribed when reciting the *tabunea,* which should be repeated three times at the point of dawn, three times at noon, and three times after sunset, every day until the child dies.

Bonotana *'the antidote'*

Te kora ae bukimangarua (string made from the *bukimangarua*—an insect with a forked tail) was tied round the mother's big toe in a double strand, just before sleeping. The *tabunea,* repeated three times, was:

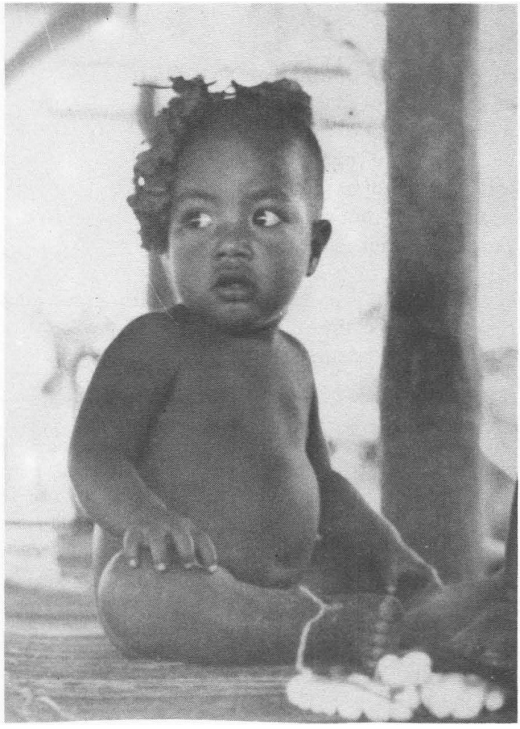
> Taeka ni Korariki, Koranaba. E rairaki newena,
> ba Kabuaia; a baka Kanoannano n ana bai arei n
> aki tiaia te wawi te buawarawara. Tiringa be
> a ma. Tiringa, boia-o, taona-o, Kamate!

You should not eat or smoke if you awake at night. The charm remained on until worn off; but the *tabunea* was not repeated.

Body Care and Adornment

BEAUTY TREATMENT FOR CHILDREN

On the day after birth the cheeks were pricked gently with a piece of stiff grass to form dimples *(maningare)* at the corners of the mouth.



A Tabiteuean baby. (Phelan 1958, 80)

The nose was gently pinched and stroked upwards on either side every day for about two years in order to make it thin. Flat noses were definitely not liked.

The baby was held with its body away from its mother's body and the feet on its mother's chest and encouraged to push with its feet to make the legs and thighs fat.

The fingertips were pinched to make them taper.

Lips were lifted and pinched so as to encourage a pout, flat *(babu)* lips being disliked.

The pelvis of girls was massaged to make it broad.

EAR PIERCING

The ear-lobes of a boy or girl were not pierced until the subject was twelve to fourteen years old. The operator was usually a member of the family, on either the father's or mother's side, but this was not essential. The instrument used was a skewer-like piece of wood, called *kangeri* ["comb," lit. "make-curl" because it was used also for teasing the hair into curls]. This was generally made of pemphis wood and so could be sharpened to a very fine, hard point. Early morning was the time for the operation.

The operator sat facing the subject. As a pad to support the lobe of
the ear, he used the half of a *nimoimoi* (a very young coconut, just developed and not more than an inch in diameter).

He began on the right ear. Holding the "pad" in his left hand, he inserted it behind the lobe so that the lobe lay on its flat surface and was turned towards him. Then he pierced the flesh with the *kangeri.* Immediately withdrawing the instrument, he then introduced a stalk of smooth grass into the puncture, and left it there. The same process was repeated on the left ear, the pad being held now in the right hand of the operator.

In the evening, hot water was used to soften the clotted blood and the stalks of grass were removed. It was recognized that the fomentations had definite curative properties. When the grass stalks had been taken out, they were replaced by slightly thicker stalks. On the following morning, exactly the same thing happened; and so on, morning and evening every day, the grass being thickened at each sitting. When the largest size of grass had been reached, the stalks of the leaves of the *bingibing* [*Thespesia populnea?*] in ascending thickness were inserted; and when the limit of these was arrived at, young

A girl from Beru, 1841. (Wilkes, 5:67)

babai [*Cyrtosperma chamis sonis*] stalks were employed. This process gradually distended each lobe until, in about three weeks' time, the aperture would receive a stalk about as thick as the thumb. This was the size generally recognized as the normal standard by the Gilbertese.

The lobes of the patient's ears were probably sore and festering at this point. Healing methods were now used. Leaves of the *mao* [*Scaevola tac cada*] were picked and their midribs removed; they were then rolled into cylinders of the requisite size (a thumb's thickness), heated at the fire, and inserted in the apertures. The fomentations of hot water were continued morning and evening, when these were replaced by new rolls.

When the outside edges of the wounds became clean, but still a little rawness remained within the ring, the cylinders of *mao* leaf were replaced by rolls of *manibwebwe,* which is the glossy sun-dried skin taken from the underside of a pandanus leaf. A week or so after this, the earlobes would be healed.

Those who wished to have larger apertures could proceed from this point. The process of enlargement by the "wet" or unhealed method was never carried further than that described above. Any further distension must be effected by working on the healed lobe.

It is said by the Islanders that some (but only a few) lobes healed "soft," free of fibrous lumps in the tissue. The majority of lobes contained one such tumour *(koran)* which must be removed before further distension could be achieved. The method of removal was to cut down to the *koran* with a piece of shell, making the incision inside the ring of the aperture; then with a piece of coconut riblet the fibrous lump was fished up and exposed, and cut away with the shell.

After this the lobe was simply stretched gradually by inserting articles of increasing size. The limit of size was usually considered to have been reached when the loop of the lobe could just be taken over the top of the ear. In this way it was carried when not in use.

No magico-religious rituals or beliefs appear to be connected with the piercing of the lobe. The old men of today, most of whom have this personal adornment, consider it simply a practical means of beautifying the person. Both men and women used it, no particular size being reserved for one sex or the other. Any object which appealed to the aesthetic taste of the man or woman might be worn in the aperture. On Butaritari in 1922 I saw an old man carrying in one lobe his pipe and in another a small red fish. Most generally seen as ear ornaments among the elder people are rolls of golden-yellow pandanus leaf burnished with scented oil, and the sweet-smelling sheath of the pandanus bloom. Rosettes and ornaments made of the pith *(uto)* of the Scaevola shrub were commonly used in the past.

There seems to have been no method of joining together the ends of a ruptured lobe.

PUBIC HAIR

Everything possible was done by women to promote their pubic hair. Those without were called *biangenge, iku,* or *katimaran,* and the condition was felt to be so shameful that some were known to have refused to be delivered of children and to have died as a consequence. Pubic hair was, however, kept short.

INCISION

Incision was formerly unknown, and was introduced by Gilbertese who had returned from the Mission School at Kusaie [Kosrae]. It later became rather popular.

The prepuce was sometimes pierced on its upper side for inserting a flower during pre-coital love-making; or a feather might be inserted as a vaginal tickler during intercourse.

Canoes and Navigation

TERMS FOR LANDFALL

Certain terms were used to describe the appearance of the land from a canoe. The general term for landfall was *te mwi.* There were four kinds of *mwi:*

a. Te bono 'the closed': descriptive of the trees which, when seen from close inshore, form an unbroken line.
b. Te rawarawa 'the interspaced': when more distant, the smaller trees disappear, leaving gaps between those still visible.
c. Te burabura 'the similitude': when just visible, sitting on a canoe.
d. Te eko-mauna 'the disappearing': when visible only from the crest of a wave.

SEA-MARKS *(BETIA)*

As Europeans use landmarks, so the Gilbertese ancestors relied upon sea-marks to check their daily position. These signposts in mid-ocean consisted of swarms of fish, flocks of birds, groups of driftwood, or conditions of wave and sky, discovered—and once discovered never forgotten—to be peculiar to certain zones of the sea. Hundreds of such traditional *betia* were stored up in the race memory as a result of the cumulative experience of generations. It is difficult for us to appreciate how very concrete and significant to the native mariner were the signs of sea and sky which to us seem so precarious. The people had, in fact, a sea sense which we do not possess in anything like the same degree, and it was obviously this gift more than any other

agency which guided their migrant ancestors safe to land across a vast and strange ocean where their star lore could no longer serve them.

The *betia* listed in Table 2 are relevant to travel between islands of the Gilbert Group and should be read from the viewpoint of a navigator whose home port was Butaritari, in the extreme north. Although thus local in their application, they do serve to suggest the bold technique, the shrewd observation, which enabled the ancestors to undertake voyages of immensely greater duration.

Table 2. Sea-marks and sailing directions, from a base at Butaritari

DESIGNATION OF BETIA	SAILING DIRECTIONS
Nao aika uabwi ma itua (the twenty-seven waves)	If the navigator, northward bound during the season of SE trade winds, overshoots Butaritari or Little Makin, he will come to a zone of ocean where a series of 27 waves rises from time to time as if from under the sea and travels past him from north to south across any prevailing swell. From this, he will know that Little Makin is half a day's sail to southward.
Te tannang (the change of wind)	Farther north than the 27 waves, the trade wind will be found to change from SE to NE. This warns the mariner that he is not less than two days' sail to north of Little Makin.
Te mabubu (the mist or low visibility)	Farther still to northward, the voyager runs into a belt of low visibility which indicates that he is in the latitude of Taaruti—i.e. Jaluit Island, E Marshalls, about 250 miles NW of Little Makin—and must run west for two or three days before he can make land. Eastward of Kosrae [called Kurae in the Gilberts] is the fish called *makeni karawa* (species of garfish), which leaps in great numbers from the sea. Farther to eastward still, two days' sail from land, are seen turtles in pairs, one of which jumps from the sea when approached while the other dives.

Designation of betia	Sailing directions
Te kainiman (the swarming of beasts)	This *betia* is a zone of the sea to eastward of Butaritari, a day's sail downwind to land; it is recognized by the presence of extraordinary numbers of the shark called *te ngarei*—a much dreaded variety of the Grey Nurse family. Another name for the region is *Te onibakoa* (the enclosure of sharks).
Te onibakoa (the enclosure of sharks)	A second *onibakoa* is recognized by the sailor to eastward of Little Makin, half a day's sail offshore. This *betia* is distinguished from the preceding one by its numerous red-tailed tropic-birds *(Phaeton rubricauda).*
Te baibureburе (the mottled fin)	To NE of Little Makin, a day's sail from land, is a zone of sea teeming with the species of shark called *baibureburе,* the tips of whose fins are touched with ivory-white markings.
Te kiban onauti (the leaping of flying fish)	SW of Little Makin, due west of Abaiang, and NW of Maiana, the navigator recognizes a region where the flying fish habitually leap in pairs from the sea, flying one just below the other and ultimately plunging together back into the waves.
Bikeni Karakara (the growing islet)	Due east of a middle point between Marakei and Little Makin the navigator knows of a small sandy islet, which he calls *Bikeni Karakara.* (The existence of this tiny uncharted island, about 60 miles to eastward of the two islands named, is confirmed by European master-mariners.)[1]
Wan Nareau (the canoe of Nareau)	A *betia* to westward of Abaiang, half a day's sail, is a zone frequented by innumerable jellyfish of the sort called *wan Nareau.*

Designation of betia	Sailing directions
Unnamed *betia* of birds	The traveller knows that he is nearly in sight of the north end of Abaiang, but has fallen away to westward, when he sees numerous terns flying in pairs, of which one bird continually revolves about the other.
Unnamed *betia* of porpoise	Farther to westward than the seabirds, a day's beat away from land, is recognized a region frequented by schools of a very large variety of porpoise (possibly blackfish), each one four fathoms long.
Nei Roba (a kind of wave)	Due south of Marakei, just out of sight of land, is encountered *Net Roba*—a large periodical wave, travelling due north, across any prevailing swell, with curling crest as if ready to break.
Te kia (a kind of wave)	Half a day's sail farther south than *Nei Roba,* and NE of Tarawa, the traveller runs into *Te kia*—a series of large waves also passing north across the swell. These waves are not crested, but have troubled flanks.
Unnamed *betia*	Between Tarawa and Maiana the voyager encounters porpoises in pairs, whose heads are always pointed in the direction of the passage into Tarawa lagoon at the place called Bairiki. (It is quite possible that these porpoises would be feeding on some sort of food swept out of Bairiki passage by the tide race of the lagoon at falling water.)
Unnamed *betia*	A *betia* to the west of Maiana, just out of sight of land, was a submerged reef, some 6 fathoms below the surface. This reef is said by old navigators to stretch SW to the southern point of Aranuka, some 60 miles away. It is a haunt of porpoises.
Te kaibaba (cross-seas)	Far to westward of Abemama, half a day's sail downwind to Banaba, is found *Te kaibaba*—a frequent succession of large waves sweeping from north to

Designation of betia	Sailing directions
	south across the swell. (This *betia* is estimated to lie about 300 miles distant from the Butaritari navigator's home.)
Te Arabungea (a condition of the sea's surface)	The sea-mark known as *Te arabungea* lies far to westward of Tamana; it is described as a succession of shining streaks upon the sea's surface forming a great V-shaped figure. One arm of the V is said to point towards Tamana, the other towards Tabiteuea. The season of trade winds is here postulated as elsewhere. (The island of Tamana lies about 350 miles distant from Butaritari.)
Mani Kabaki (the fish-trap of Kabaki)	This *betia* consists of a scattered line of leaves and other drift far to westward of Banaba, which stretches from the line of northern islands (Carolines) in a south-easterly direction towards Samoa. It is said that by following this line a navigator could reach as far south as Samoa, but would find great difficulty in beating up to land from the point where the drift began to fail him. For purposes of local navigation, the *Mani Kabaki* is called the *toki,* or safety limit, to westward.[2]

1. In the sixty years during which I have been associated with the Gilbert Islands I have never succeeded in authenticating a sighting of Bikeni Karakara, nor have I seen it myself though I have searched the area around its supposed location on schooner passages from Butaritari to the southern islands. During World War II, furthermore, innumerable U.S. planes must have flown over the area without, so far as I have been able to ascertain, anyone reporting a reef in the vicinity. Hence I conclude that the atoll is now submerged. See also Heyen 1937, 1.—Ed.

2. For comments on Gilbertese betia see Lewis 1972, 114, 215, 249, 319–320.—Ed.

SAFETY LIMIT *(TOKI)* TO WESTWARD

There were certain traditional signs by which navigators judged their distance westward of the land. The safety limit to leeward (i.e., westward in the season of the trade winds) was the "fish-trap of Kabaki." It consisted of a line of leaves and rubbish scattered over the sea from Makin to Samoa, far to the westward of the land. This was possibly rubbish being carried by some current.

The sea was said to slope sharply down to westward *(batete rio)* beyond this limit, and return was difficult. If a craft fell away farther to leeward it came eventually to a second limit *(toki),* which was a region of *ariki* 'dead calm'. The frequenter of these waters was a gigantic fish called *te Uu,* which sucked canoes and their occupants into its mouth and swallowed them whole.

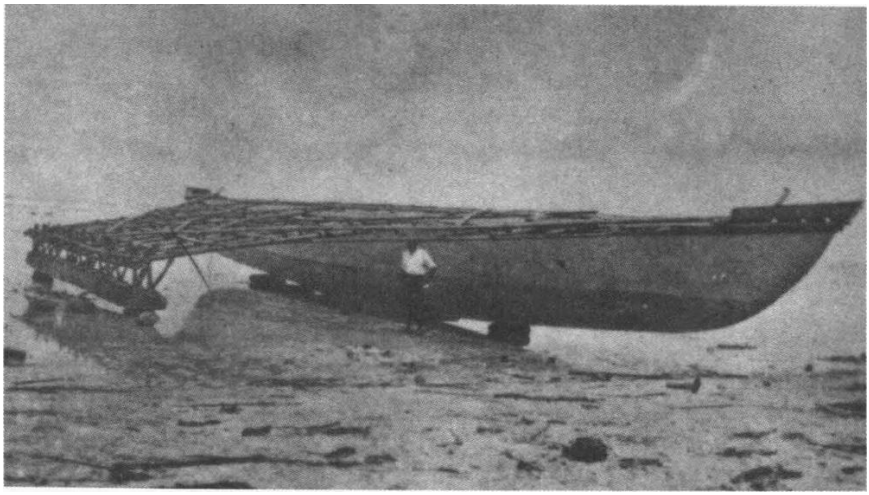
The third *toki,* farther west again, was called Wenei n Anti 'shooting star of spirits'. In this place a man had two shadows. If he looked at his sail his shadow was there, and if he looked at the water his shadow was there too.

The fourth *toki* was recognized by the appearance of a bird, *te mataba,* whose cry was continually *"I a kawa, I a kawa"* ("I am unhappy, I am unhappy"). And in this place it was hopeless to think of a return, for the sea sloped sharper still to westward and the waves rushed like a river *(karanga)* downhill.

The fifth and last *toki* was called *Te Uabuki te re* 'the capsize'. Any craft coming so far was doomed. The water rose in confused waves all around it with no direction, and it was sucked down into the depths.

CHANGES IN CANOE TYPES

The ancestors made their wonderful migrations in canoes presumably of similar construction to the modern craft, [1] having hulls built up of planks lashed together with string. When we seek evidence from traditional tales [rather than from material culture], the account of the building of the *kaburoro* canoe leaves small room for doubt that, during their sojourn in the southern land called Tamoa, the Gilbertese ancestors used the built-up type of vessel having a single outrigger and float. [2] That a craft composed of two hulls was once known to the race is implied by the name *baurua* (Ellice Islands *foulua* 'double canoe') given to deep-water vessels of the type pictured in my paper of

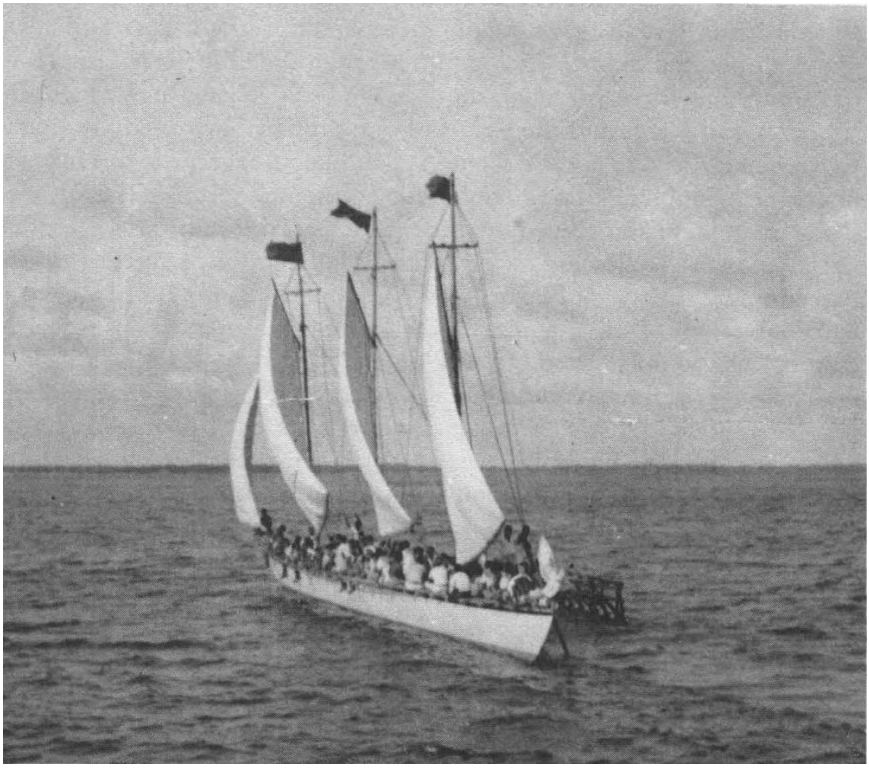


A 100-foot baurua under construction at Tabiteuea in 1939. (Maude photo)

1924. [3] Until quite recently, the Gilbertese were in the habit of removing the float of a large canoe and replacing it with the hull of a smaller craft, for the purpose of giving the outrigger a greater carrying capacity whenever necessary

A very characteristic feature of the Gilbertese hull-form is its intentional asymmetry, ingeniously designed with a view to counteracting the drag of the float. [4] An apparently similar asymmetry has been noted in reports from other areas, but I believe myself to have been the first to discover and explain its mechanical significance. This feature of construction deserves further research, inasmuch as it involves a fundamental mechanical principle which would tend to survive all material changes dictated by accident or environment.

As far as general form is concerned, a multitude of varying conditions (especially those connected with the quality and size of available timbers) may have caused profound local modifications of the original hull-construction since the race scattered to different groups from Samoa. A splendid example of the changes that environment can effect is afforded in the canoes of the Gilbertese-speaking population of Nui, in the Ellice Group. Fugitives from the Gilbert Islands of Tabiteuea, Beru, and Nonouti, some ten generations ago, were forced to find a new home upon Nui. And these people (though preserving their original speech, traditions, and social organization remarkably



Modern Tabiteuean baurua, showing outrigger. (Maude photo)

intact) have, for the past four generations at least, entirely abandoned the built-up type of canoe and adopted the dug-out form. I am indebted to H. E. Maude, a Cambridge University anthropologist, for confirmation of my observation of this fact, and for the extremely important additional information that the Nui folk have not even preserved that most typical, effective, and easily made adjunct of Gilbertese canoes—the Y-shaped stick attachment between outrigger and float.

So much for the durability of material forms, when ordinary common sense dictates their abandonment. The obvious reason for the radical change effected at Nui was that the dug-out type of craft seen in the Ellice Islands (with its strength of hull and compact outrigger and float) was better suited to local reef conditions than the Gilbertese vessel and its appurtenances—and much more easily built, owing to the plentiful supply of fairly soft and moderately large timber. Such ready response by Oceanic races to local exigencies, and such eagerness to em-

brace new ideas—involving the wholesale replacement of one form by another—are too seldom recognized by students of material culture.

In making the following recantation, I shall not only correct a piece of bad ethnography which I heartily deplore, but shall also afford an excellent illustration of the manner in which important features of material culture can be obliterated. In 1924 I stated that both hulls and float attachments on the island of Banaba (where the population is Gilbertese) assimilated closely to those pictured by Hedley from Funafuti. [5] The notes and sketches upon which I based this report were made early in 1920, in two of the island's four villages. Further research has shown that the craft that I observed were not of Banaban construction at all, having been the imported canoes of Ellice Islands labourers employed in the local phosphate industry. The Banaban population learned in the course of twenty years to appreciate the value of Ellice Islands canoes for reef work, and acquired the habit of buying such craft from their owners when the latter completed their indentures and went home. In this manner, the true Banaban canoe was ousted from the two villages nearest to the settlement of the Ellice Islanders. In 1922, however, Ellice labourers ceased to be employed at Banaba, and the supply of new canoes consequently failed at its source. The local timber being extremely hard, and so unsuitable for the easy manufacture of dug-outs, the Banabans never learned to make these craft for themselves. When the purchased canoes wore out, they were therefore replaced by vessels of the built-up type (boards being easy to buy), and the island reverted to its own methods of construction.

When the example of Nui is considered, no reasonable doubt can exist that, had there grown upon Banaba a timber from which Ellice Islands canoes could have been easily made, the Banabans would have adopted the new form in favour of their own, because of its superior utility under the conditions set by their lagoonless island.

Traditional evidence indicates that the Gilbertese appear to have migrated into the Pacific from Indonesia. It therefore seems very significant that the portion of Indonesia plotted out by Haddon as the present focus of outrigger canoes is almost exactly the area to which local tradition points as the pre-Oceanic fatherland. Haddon's commentary upon the evidence examined by him is worth quoting in full:

> It is legitimate to suppose that from Indonesia, if not actually from the Moluccas, migrations took place at various times, each with its special type of canoe or with some partial modification. As a general rule one might expect to find that the earlier types of canoes or of outriggers were those that went furthest, and those that started last would have a more limited distribution; but we must also remember that the later swarms would be more civilised and have a better technical equipment, and thus some of them may have passed over earlier layers and have reached a far destination. [6]

CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT LAUNCHING A NEW CANOE
ABAIANG

At the point of dawn the new canoe was carried from its shed by the builder and his helpers and laid out on the shoal, pointing east and west, with its outrigger to the windward side.

If the tide was out, the keel of the canoe would be supported on several green unhusked coconuts; if the tide was high, it would merely float.

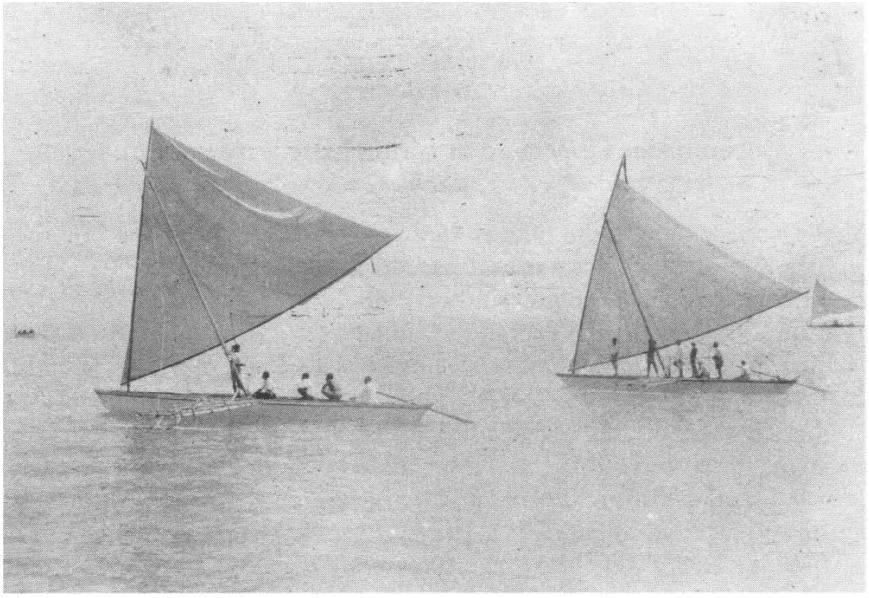
The fan-shaped ends of coconut leaves were then laid (one each) on the stem, stern, and outrigger of the craft, so that their tips were pointed outwards and overhung the water. These were to frighten away the evil spirits and fish that might do it harm.

Upon the leaves were laid green coconuts, *babai*, and any other sort of food available, in small quantities. These constitute the food of the evil spirits, to divert their attention from the canoe itself.

While these various objects were being laid on the craft, incantations of the usual sort were muttered, the performers of the ceremony facing eastward.

This done, the canoe was left to lie until just before sunset on the same day. At this hour the same company proceeded to the canoe and threw all the food thereon into the sea; the coconut leaves being also cast away. These were supposed to drift away into the mouths of the various spirits and fishes that might do the craft injury, thus acting as a peace offering.

The canoe was then lifted out of the water and carried ashore. It was set down pointing east and west in a space prepared for it near the lagoon shore.



Two canoes in the Beru lagoon, 1931. (Maude photo)

A large fire was built near its stem, which pointed towards the lagoon; but if its orientation had happened to bring it parallel to the lagoon shore, the fire would have been lit at its western end, i.e., the end nearest the setting sun.

While the fire was burning, coconuts and other food were placed inside the hull at both stems and amidships, under the outrigger booms. The food was to placate, and the fire to frighten away, the unfriendly spirits that might inhabit the canoe. *Tania ni kabi* 'the frequenter of the keel' and other such names were attributed to these spirits. The idea was that a canoe is "born in sin" (to use the terminology of another culture) and is the natural home of evil spirits which must be purged by fire before it is fit to do its work or safe for human use.

While the fire was burning itself out, a feast was started, of which not only the builders but also their relations partook. The canoe was then left overnight, with its food inside.

Next morning, at sunrise, the builders again carried the craft to water. The mast was set up to one charm; its sail was hoisted to another; its steering oar was lashed into place to a third; its fore and aft mast stays were adjusted to a fourth; and so on.

The canoe was then ready for its work.

Conveyance and Inheritance

LAND CONVEYANCES
BUTARITARI

Te tibatiba The division of lands by a father still living among the children of his various wives. [1] *Te bwena-mwi* designate the lands on which the issue of each wife are to subsist.

Te toba Land given to a person adopted as a *toba* [foster child] by a particular *utu.* Such a person took the status of the adoptor's *nati* or *tibu,* although not necessarily of the *utu* before adoption.

Te natinati Adoption of a person as a *nati* 'son or daughter', the land given by the adoptor to the adopted being known as *te aban nati.* It is subject to a reversion to the eldest descendant in the male line of the giver should the line of the person adopted become extinct.

Te tibutibu Adoption of a person as a *tibu* 'grandchild', the land given by the adoptor to the adopted being known as *te aban tibu.* Subject to a reversion as in the case of *te aban nati.*

Te banuri Land given to an adoptor as a reward for adopting a child or adult in one of the three ways given above. It is considered a help towards the expenses of feeding the adopted.

Te bainaine A fine paid for adultery with a woman. This penalty was also incurred by one who passed under a woman's *riri,* hung as a *tabu* on a tree or house.

Te nenebo A fine paid, by one who severely injured or killed another, to the injured person or his family.

Te kuakua A reward given on recovery from sickness to one who had nursed the sick person.

Te kainikibakiba [2] Land given as a wedding present to a wife by her husband. If the wife died without issue, it did not return to the giver's *utu* but became the property of the wife's mother (not her father).

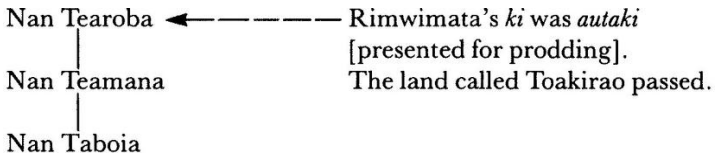
Te bururunrakaraka Land given as a wedding present to a husband by his wife. It became his property and passed to his father's (not mother's) *utu* should he die without issue.

Te bora Land given to a young wife (or possibly her husband) as the price of *tinaba.*

Te kuo Land given to a *tinaba,* not as a reward for sexual intercourse but for filial piety.

Te mumuta Land given by a person to someone not of his *bu* who removed his vomit.

Te abanauki If a man stood up in a crowd and presented his *ki* [posterior] to you, you did him great honour by prodding it with the words *" e teke nukan Bangkai"* (naming the land), [3] which he would then give to you.



Te abanikamama Land given in payment for the wet-nursing of a child.

SUCCESSION OF ELDEST SON AND DESCENDANTS
BUTARITARI

The eldest son, although not necessarily the eldest child, had preference in rights of succession and inheritance. His descendants inherited such rights in precedence to the descendants of other brothers and sisters.

Thus it will happen that the title of *Unimane* [Old Man] of an *utu* will descend upon a youngster, while members of other branches, his senior in years and experience, will nevertheless give him the right of speech before them in council and the right of veto to proposals made by them in respect of family land.

Sometimes the eldest child, even though a girl, would be given precedence to any others, whether boys or girls, born after her.

INHERITANCE IN PLURAL MARRIAGE
BUTARITARI

A man with several wives would generally arrange long before his death for the division of his land (posthumously) among his progeny. He would allocate specific districts to each wife by name. Each wife would then be the guardian of such lands on behalf of her progeny. She would herself acquire no rights over the land except as the mother of her husband's children. These, on attaining maturity, would take over the governance of the land, but would be under an obligation of keeping their mother thereon.

In such a case, each wife's issue having been provided for separately, the eldest-born child of such a father would have no say in the future disposal of any of his half-brother's or half-sister's lands. *A nako ma aia bai* [they have gone with their shares].

TE BAINAINE
BUTARITARI

If one of a chief's workers committed adultery with the wife of another man, it was the chief who had to pay the land-forfeit called *te bainaine*. He would have to pay it even if the offended party were of the slave class; in this case it would be taken in chief-right by the chief of the offended party, while the latter would acquire the right of using it and farming it for his chief.

Ueaneita (chief)	Ekeramatang (chief)
Tenneke (worker)	Itineita (worker)
Boiaki (worker)	

Ueaneita, a chief, committed adultery with the wife of Ekeramatang, and forfeited two pieces of land as payment to the latter. His worker Tenneke thus lost his hereditary usufruct, which passed to Itineita, the worker of the offended chief.

But subsequently Itineita committed adultery with the wife of Tenneke's son Boiaki. Under the local custom Ekeramatang, the offender's chief, had to pay for the offence. The same piece of land was therefore returned and Ueaneita reacquired the chief-right, while Boiaki took the usufruct which his father had formerly forfeited.

INHERITANCE
BANABA

Girls and boys were treated equally in the division of the paternal and maternal lands. That is to say that neither sex was more favoured than another by custom. The eldest child, whether girl or boy, generally inherited the greatest share of land; but this again was not a hard and fast rule, for the parents had the greatest freedom to make favourites and endow them at will to the exclusion of other children.

The communal or family system of land tenure, so strongly developed in the Gilberts, does not appear on Banaba. Land is, and apparently always has been, the property of the individual. Once given a piece of land, the Banaban is entirely the master of it and can give it away to an utter stranger if he wishes to do so. [4]

Land was usually divided up among children before the death of the parents, usually when the children became old enough to fend for themselves. The formality of apportioning land among children was called *te katautau:* it consisted of collecting the various heirs and walking with them round the parental lands to point out to them the boundaries of their various allotments. This formality was rarely gone through in the presence of but one of the children, as it was distinctly understood that all had the right to be present even though all did not get their share at the same meeting. Furthermore, it seems that even a child who was given no share at all in the paternal or maternal lands could demand in justice that he be allowed to attend the partition at which his brothers and sisters profited to his exclusion.

Generally a husband and wife made their *katautau* on the same day, but this was by no means an unbroken rule.

Again, it was the usual custom that each child should get some of the paternal and some of the maternal lands, but a special arrangement between the parents was often made by which the children were divided into two groups, one of which inherited the father’s estate and the other the mother’s estate.

The *katautau* was a final act. Once a child became thereby endowed with land he was its unconditional master and could dispose of it entirely as he willed.

Te abantara was the equivalent to *te abanikuakua* in the Gilberts, being given to one who cared for you in sickness. A stranger might thus acquire all your lands to the exclusion of your children.

OWNERSHIP AND INHERITANCE OF *BANGABANGA* *BANABA*

The Banaban *bangabanga,* or water-caverns, numbering some fifty in all, are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the island. [5] They were formed probably by the fissuring of the coral rock in times of volcanic disturbance. The majority have only one or two chambers, but several are of great extent, consisting of countless galleries and tunnels, that wind for miles through the bedrock. Into these subterranean reservoirs the rainfall trickles during the wet seasons, to form lakes or puddles of various sizes. The combined contents of the water-caverns are sufficient to support the native population through two years of drought, if properly husbanded. The *bangabanga* are therefore a valuable form of real property on Banaba. They are usually kept closed throughout seasons of normal rainfall.

Ownership

Most of the *bangabanga* are privately owned. That is to say, the right of declaring any given cave open for use is generally vested in a particular individual. This person invariably claims to be a lineal descendant of the ancestor reputed to have discovered the cavern; he is called the Holder of the Rock. Only at his bidding may the boulders that choke the entrance be removed. Practically speaking, however, his privilege is an empty one, for as soon as he declares his cavern open, all natives of the island irrespective of family have a right equal to his own of using its water; and though he may at any time exercise his privilege of closing the cave again he is then by his own act obliged as much as any other to refrain from entering.

It is therefore clear that the system of ownership connected with the water-caverns, though individualistic in its superficial characters, is for every practical purpose strongly communistic in tendency.

There are five large caverns on the island over which no hereditary individual rights exist. Of these the two named Banaba and Toakira, “have no rocks”—which is to say they are never closed, whether the season be wet or dry. Nevertheless, in times of severe drought, the elders of the whole island in conclave may assume the right of making rules for the husbanding of the water supply in these two caverns.

The first named, Banaba, has been communally controlled from time immemorial. Toakira was once in private hands, but was perpetually opened to the public seven generations ago, when the Holder of the Rock proved himself unworthy of his privileges by murdering an enemy who insisted on his right to use the cavern's water.

The other three caves free from individual control "have rocks," which are removed (in time of drought only) by general consent of the villagers of Tabiang.

Inheritance

As the possession of rights connected with *bangabanga* confers no social status, the lineal transfer of such rights is to be considered as a matter of inheritance rather than succession.

The system under which the water-caverns pass from parent to child is totally at variance with that associated with other forms of real property on Banaba. Whereas the sentiment of father-right dominates all usage connected with ordinary land, the inheritance of the *bangabanga* is regulated mainly on matrilineal principles. The right of "holding the rock" descends from mother to eldest daughter wherever possible. If a woman lacks daughters, however, she passes the right on to her eldest son, not to a brother's or sister's daughter. Failing female issue, the *bangabanga* may descend through several generations of males; but on the birth of a girl child it will inevitably revert to her. So well established is the rule that a man who happens to have come into possession of a *bangabanga* is said to be "holding it in trust for his unborn granddaughter."

Figure 5 shows the descent of a *bangabanga* on the government station, named Teba, through eight generations of men and women.

Alienation of rights

There is no known case in which the rights over a *bangabanga* have been alienated by the owner. The communistic ideas underlying the system of course account for this. The Holder of the Rock is a figurehead convenient for the purpose of organization; as such, his hereditary rights are respected, but confer on him or her no power of transfer.

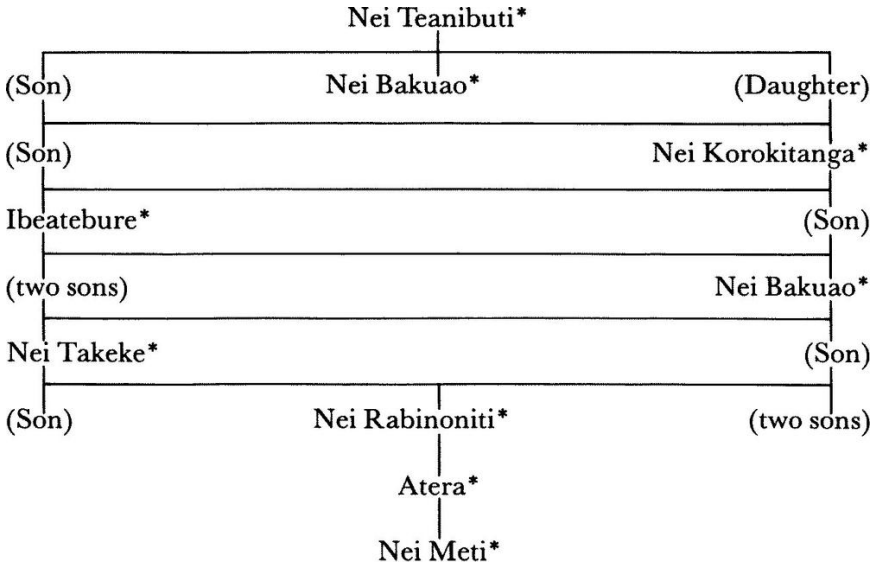


Figure 5. The descent of a bangabanga at Teba. Asterisk (*) indicates person inheriting the right to "hold the rock."

Newly discovered **bangabanga**

The mining operations of the British Phosphate Commission have disclosed several hitherto unknown *bangabanga.* Of these a very extensive one in the central mining area has been the subject of discussion before the Lands Commission.

This series of caverns, containing many thousands of gallons of water, was discovered several years ago, its entrance being a narrow shaft some forty to fifty feet deep. Later another entrance slightly less precipitous was disclosed about fifty yards distant from the first. At a discussion between the Banabans and the British Phosphate Commission representatives in 1921, it was agreed that the water in these caverns should be used both by the natives and the commission, during such time as the commission was mining in that area, and should revert to the sole use of the natives when mining operations should cease. Some small misunderstandings having arisen since between the parties to this agreement; an amicable settlement was made by the Lands Commission. The natives now have the use of the second entrance discovered, while the commission uses the first.

Death

THE *TABEATU* CEREMONY
TAUTAM, *NORTHERN GILBERTS*

Tautam was taught by his father Te Iatake, then aged over 80. On the third day after the death the ceremony of *tabeatu* 'lifting of the head' was performed. Its object was to straighten the path of the ghost to the land of shades and to secure it a good reception there, in order that it might not return and "eat" the younger members of its *utu.*

The *tabeatu* magic and ritual was the possession of the clan of Ababou, and only men might perform it. The performer brought with him an amulet of red shell called *te nta ,* on a necklet of bark stripped from the *kanawa* tree. This necklet was called *te nimarainai.* He also brought a wreath of any sort of flowers.

The performer sat on the left side of the corpse, which lay with its head to the east. For this rite, the right arm of the corpse was bent and the hand (folded) placed with fingers upmost under the nape of the dead man's neck. The left arm was stretched straight out to the side of the corpse. The performer of the ceremony sat on it, and inserted his right knee into the armpit of the dead man.

Sitting in this position, the performer thrust his right hand under the occiput of the dead man; he held the amulet and wreath in his left hand with his fingers loosely closed over them. Bringing his left hand to the dead man's face, he rubbed his brow gently with the back of the same hand, and knocked gently and repeatedly upon the brow of the dead, with the following softly muttered words:

> N nangi tiba tabekia, kaetia, kawain Ten Naewa, ba e nangi nako abana ba Innang, ma Roro, ma Bouru ma Marira. Ao ko na toua Manra; ma kanoa ni wam te ungira ma te taitai; kanoa ni bungi-bung; beibeti i ani Matang ma Abaiti ma Atia rikiam aroa; te okiokiri matangam ma uotam te nako n aki oki; ma tiakabo n tetannangina ma uatannang, te okiakina ma uaokiaki, ma ko aki bibitake Naewa, ba e a tau-o-o!
>
> I am about to lift and straighten the path of Ten Naewa, [1] for he is about to go to his land of Innang, and Roro, and Bouru, and Marira. And you will tread Manra, and the contents of your canoe the pandanus [?] and the tattoo; the contents of …[?]…; float under the lee of Matang and Abaiti and Atia your lands of origin; the returning to your homeland with your burden the going and not returning; so farewell for a season and two seasons, a month and two months, and you are not changed Ten Naewa, for it is good-o-o!

This was repeated three times, after which the wreath was put on the dead person's brow and an amulet of *kanawa* bark bound around his neck to another formula. The performer's work was then done and he departed.

THE AMULET OF *KANAWA* BARK
NORTHERN GILBERTS

The spell to which the amulet of *kanawa* bark was bound about the neck of the deceased was as follows:

> I ti namanamatia bunan Naewa te mane, be a tau ana bong ba te angimainiku. Ao ko riaoni Karawa, ko toua Matang ma Neineaba ririki, ko kabira am bong te oiaki ma te tanibeabe, ko moa Naka ma Nei Aibong. Kanoa ni bongira ma bongibuaka; tariu wana-wana, tai okirikaki ba raom te nu ma ningoningo, ma abam Roro ma Innang ma Rabaraba-ni-Karawa ao ko aki bibitaki ma n rairaki-o!
>
> I knot the amulet of So-and-so the man, for his day is sufficient as the east wind. And you journey over the Heavens, you tread Matang and Neineaba, you go to

> meet your day of the moon-change and the dead-calm, you visit Naka and Nei Aibong. Whatever your daily happenings and bad days; my wise brother, do not come back again for your companions are the shadows and the crickets, and your land Roro and Innang and the side of Heaven and you are not changed and turned back-o!

The phrase "your companions are the shadows and the crickets" has a special meaning. It signifies a desire that if the ghost returns it should return by day, when the sun casts shades, and not by night; and that it should make itself known to relations not in evil dreams but by crying like a cricket. If it does this, it gives the living to understand that it has reached its ghostly bourne safely and has not returned to trouble them, but simply for the sake of their company.

THE AMULET FOR PERSONS OF HIGH BIRTH *TARAWA*

When the dead man had lain for three days, an amulet was made for him of sinnet and human hair, on which was threaded a *buangi* 'porpoise tooth'. This was tied about his neck to the following incantation:

> O namata ni maena, O Ten Naewa! Aie te buangi te taberaitiai ni maen-o Ten Naewa. Ko a nako Ten Naewa-o, ko a uotia te butu ma te manim te raoi ma te tabomoa. E-e! anti n rabaraba ni Karawa meang a na butimaea-o Ten Naewa, a na uotia te nikira te amarake. E-e! anti n rabaraba ni Karawa maiaki a na butimaea-o Ten Naewa, a na uotia te nikira te amarake. E-e! anti n rabaraba ni Karawa maeao, Nei Tituabine, butimaea-o Ten Naewa; kairia nakon te maneabaia uea, ma anti—ma-o-o!
>
> O knotting of his garland, O So-and-so! This is the porpoise tooth, the seven-pointed of the garland of So-and-so. You shall go, So-and-so, you shall carry the *butu* [2] with gentleness, peace, and excellence. E-e! spirits of the side of Heaven in the north shall meet him, So-and-so, they shall bring their food offering. E-e! spirits of the side of Heaven in the south shall meet him, So-and-so,

> they shall bring their food offering. E-e! spirit of the side of Heaven in the west, Nei Tituabine, meet So-and-so; lead him to the maneaba of kings and spirits—ma-o-o!

Three knots were tied to secure the necklet on the neck, and at each successive knot the incantation was repeated.

THE BODY
BUTARITARI

The body was not suffered to lie in peace. Even in its most advanced state of decay it was nursed and fondled by the male and female members of the *utu.*

Outside the house two fires were lit, one at the feet (west), the other at the head (east), and these were tended by an old man and an old woman of the *utu.* The fires were not allowed to die until either the body had been buried or the process of drying was complete. No ember of these fires was allowed to be taken for lighting any domestic fire, nor was it permissible to kindle any stick in their flames.

Food was laid at the dead man's head as *kanoan wana* [provisions for his canoe] to the land of shades. The food consisted of *babai,* pulled whole from the pit, with leaves entire, and an entire coconut tree with roots, stem, and crown complete. This food was allowed to lie until the body was buried. If the *babai* was still eatable it was cut up and cooked and eaten by the *utu.* But no child was allowed to partake of this food.

MUMMIFICATION OF CHIEFS
BUTARITARI

On Makin and Butaritari only *uea* and chiefs were mummified by drying. The brains remained in the head. Any fragments of skin, flesh, hair, etc., that fell from the head were buried apart in a hole dug near the eastern shore.

The intestines of a man were drawn out through the rectum. A woman's intestines were drawn through the rectum. Her reproductive organs were drawn through the vagina.

The intestines were also buried separately, while refuse from hands and arms, legs and feet, trunk and genitals, each had their distinct burial places.

If an *uea* or a member of an *uea*'s *utu* died and lay in state, the different parts of his body were allocated to the various classes of mourners. The *uea*'s *utu* sat at his head and shoulders and attended to them. The chiefs sat about his middle, which was their care. At his feet sat his slaves, whose business was to look after legs and feet. This custom was said to have been brought by Rairaueana te I-Matang.

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY
REWI OF UMA, *BANABA*

Bodies were very seldom buried on Banaba, as graves were frequently robbed for the large bones which were used to make thatching tools and barbs of fish-hooks.

Most frequently, the body was kept inside the house where the death occurred. The elder women (father's sisters and mother's sisters) of the deceased's family then took the sun-dried flesh of coconuts, throwing away the hard brown outer surface, and used the oily parts that remained to rub over the body of the dead. This friction was kept up continuously day and night all through the period during which the corpse was decomposing. The body was practically rubbed to pieces, and as the fragments of it were worn away with friction they were thrown into the sea. So at last the skeleton alone remained. Of this, the skull and smaller bones (fingers, toes, etc.) were collected and hung from the roof in a basket. They were occasionally anointed with oil and garlanded with flowers. The larger bones were kept by the sons of the deceased, for the manufacture of implements. No one else was allowed to use them.

The people of Uma and Tabiang particularly, and the Banabans in general, when they did bury a body laid it with its feet to north; and they had a definitely expressed belief that the reason for doing this was to set the feet of the departing spirit on the northward road to Bouru, the land of shades, which lay in the north.

BURIAL
BUTARITARI

At burial the body lay invariably from east (head) to west (feet). No other orientation was ever allowed. The body was buried at any hour of the day, while it was still light. On the day of the burial, just after sunset when the last of the day had died, the ceremony of *bomaki* began.

Three times in succession the village was traversed by the people in line from south to north. All chanted together, addressing the spirit of the dead:

Nako-o, nako-o!
Nako abam are i Annang, ao Roro, ao Rabaraba-ni-Karawa!

Go-o, go-o!
Go to your land at Annang, and Roro, and Rabaraba-ni-Karawa!

It was a deadly insult to a member of the *utu* to bury the dead in his absence. Every member must look on the face of the dead for a final moment before burial. A man was considered justified in killing or making war upon those who offended him in this repsect. Such a war would be called *ninimate* [avenging the dead].

BURIAL AT SEA OR IN ROCKS
BUTARITARI AND MAKIN

There is an *utu* of Kuma which habitually buries its dead at sea. For this rite there is a deep shaft-like hole in the reef which seems to connect by some subterranean passage with the sea. The dead body is dropped feet first, in a standing position, into this hole, and is said to sink feet first. No weights are used. If the body floats to the surface after a few days, it is left to drift away. This *utu* is descended from an ancestor who was a famous voyager. It is the *utu* also connected with the calling of the porpoise.

An *utu* of Butaritari village buried its dead in a cave-like hollow under the shelf or rock that forms the base of the flagstaff at the government station. When the dead man was laid in the cave, its entrance was blocked with stones. The rising tide penetrated and filled this cave every day.

At Kiebu village on Makin there is a stone set up in a *nikawewe* 'enclosure' of rocks, which is called Beia-ma-Tekai. This stone once had a rounded knob about the size and shape of a head, and the neck and shoulders appeared above the ground. The spot on which the stone stands is reputed to be the exact place where Beia-ma-Tekai died: the stone itself is his real body, according to popular accounts. [3] It was said to have been buried in a standing position.

BURIAL IN THE SITTING POSITION *ABAIANG*

On Abaiang Island sitting interment was commonly resorted to by the various *utu* when the dead person was a *tia wawi* 'sorcerer'. The definitely expressed intention of such a burial was to "prevent the dead man from returning and working his sorceries on the living." The position was the characteristic sitting position, with one foot and tibia superimposed on the other and thighs on ground.

It has been argued that the *wawi* was characteristic of the culture of the Nareau folk, and that they practised the dual system. We may assume, therefore, that this form of sitting interment was part of their culture.

Rivers' hypothesis that sitting interment was practised to prevent the return of the dead is definitely corroborated by this evidence.

BURIAL IN THE SITTING POSITION *MARAKEI*

There is an *utu* of Marakei whose custom it has been, "ever since the first ancestor grew," to bury its dead males in the sitting position.

The land of the *utu* called Tawana, where the interments have invariably been made, is situated on the eastern side of the island. At burial the dead man's face was turned towards *otin tai* 'the rising sun'. As the corpse sat, its legs were stretched

straight forward, the heels being closed and the toes allowed to fall outwards. The arms were pulled forwards, so that the backs of the hands rested on the knees, with the open palms upwards. The head was turned up so that the face looked to the skies.

The *utu* using this form of interment was that which performed the rites connected with fructification of the pandanus and the coconut. [4] The sitting method of interring the dead was directly connected with this function of the *utu,* for the position of the dead man's hands, head, and legs was commemorative of the attitude assumed by him when praying for a good pandanus crop. It is worth noting that the women of this *utu* were considered incapable of performing this magic and therefore were not buried in the sitting position, but in the usual extended position. So the exceptional disposition of the body was reserved for men only.

The genealogy of this *utu* is imperfectly kept, its members being now very few, and those who have cared to remember anything of its history being very old. Figure 6 gives the genealogy collected by me from the old man Tatiba, aged 76 or more, and an ancient woman named Nei Tanginibwebwe of perhaps 86 or 88.

The last member of this failing *utu* to be buried in the sitting position was the elder brother of Nei Tanginibwebwe, the man Nimta. He died before the coming of the Flag in 1892, at an advanced age. His ancient sister related to me that when he was dying he said to those about him: "I am about to die. Make me sit when you bury me over there at Tawana. Turn my face to the sun. If you do this you will have always good pandanus crops. The day after my death you will see in the eastern sky a star with a tail (i.e., a comet) and you will say, 'That is Nimta'."

According to the account of the old woman, it happened as her brother had predicted, but this was not confirmed by her son, who must have been an adult at his uncle's death. I think there can be no doubt that the tradition of a comet belongs to a period in the history of the *utu* far more distant than Nimta's, and that the old woman was relating as an experience something she had inherited as a tradition of her forefathers. That the comet idea is one of the ancient family traditions is made practically certain by the fact that all the ancestors of the *utu* are called *Kai-ni-Karawa,* inhabitants of heaven, which in the minds of all the Gilbertese people, and indeed most of the Oceanic races, would immediately connect them with the stars.

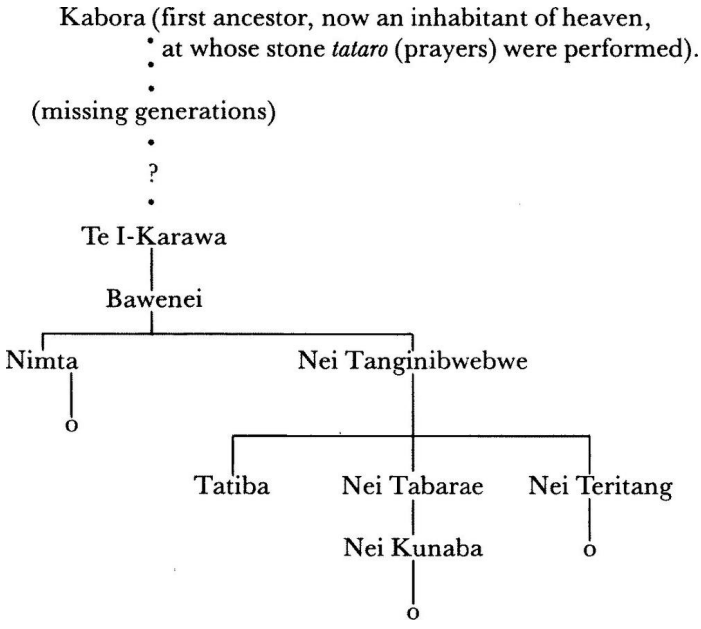


Figure 6. Genealogy of the utu using burial in the sitting position

The appellation "inhabitants of heaven" is applied to the ancestors of this *utu* because it is believed that after death all of them went to the skies. My informant, Nei Tanginibwebwe, who has never been converted to Christianity, herself confidently expects that the heaven above Marakei is the ultimate destination of her ghost. This belief in connection with sitting interment is in sharp contrast with the tradition of the northward and westward destination of the ghost of Bouru, Mone, or Matang, which we have found connected with interment in the extended position.

There were other special features in the practices connected with the dead of this *utu.* The body was kept for only a single night after death, being buried at sunrise the next day. A necklet of knotted sinnet was tied round the neck of the dead, on which was threaded *te nta* 'a red shell', or *te ntabo*'an orange-coloured shell'. After the burial it was strictly prohibited to touch the grave as soon as it had been filled with earth; so definite was this rule that people of the *utu* would never even reopen a grave for the sake of interring a son or other close relation of the deceased near his bones—which was a common practice in con-

nection with extended burial. Lastly, there seems to have been no idea among the sitting-interment folk of supplying food for the journey of the ghost to the land of shades; nor was the customary pair of shrivelled coconuts placed in his hands at burial.

The ceremony of *bomaki* was performed on the return of the people from the grave site, for three nights.

SITTING INTERMENT
MARAKEI

The strict prohibition against the reopening of the grave by the *utu* practising sitting interment might initially seem to indicate an original intention, actuated by fear, of preventing the dead from returning to the dwellings of his descendants. The absence of any form of skull-cult in this *utu,* on an island where the skull-cult was universal, seems to suggest that the folk who used this sort of burial were prejudiced against communion with their ancestral ghosts.

Nevertheless, the people of the *utu* had a stone, of the usual kind associated with the ancestor-cult in the Gilbert Islands, erected close to their settlement, which was named after the "first ancestor," Kabora, and at which *tataro* and offerings, differing in no respect from the kind normally found, were made in times of stress.

Again, although there is no evidence that the special prayers for abundant crops, with which this *utu* is particularly associated, were made to the ancestral stone, it was certainly to the ancestors who lived in the skies that the "crop-maker" addressed his entreaties, and it was the ancestral ghost Kabora who was supposed to appear to him in a dream, to tell him whether the crop would fail or flourish.

The practices and beliefs thus connected with the dead by this *utu* seem to invite two conflicting sets of ideas, one in which the return of the dead is a matter to be prevented, and one in which communication with the ghost is sought and ensured.

One way of explaining the presence of such a conflict is to suppose that there was formerly on Marakei a sitting-interment people who feared their dead and enforced a prohibition against the reopening of graves in order to prevent their return. In this case it would follow that the ancestor-cult which their descendants have practised until modern times is the result of local contact and fusion with another and quite distinct race.

Another possibility is that this particular form of sitting interment was brought to the Gilbert Islands by the people who practised the cult of the ancestor, being the peculiarity of one branch of this people, who had acquired it by contact with some other race in a former home.

Both the above explanations are based upon the supposition that the practices and beliefs described are a complex of more than one system. But a third possibility is that this particular form of sitting interment was developed by a branch of the people who practised the ancestor-cult, not on account of external influences but in pursuance of the special magico-religious functions performed by them in connection with the pandanus and the coconut. The attitude of the dead in his grave was an exact representation of his attitude during life while praying for good crops, and it is very easy to conceive that he should be buried in this position in order that his continual gesture of supplication might bring fruitfulness to the trees of his descendants. If this fundamental idea is accepted, it is again simple and natural to suppose that the continuity of the supplicatory attitude of the dead became a matter of importance. From this idea would spring the prohibition against the reopening of the grave for any reason at all, and the consequent absence of the skull-cult from the households of the *utu.*

Further, it we thus regard this form of interment to be a special modification of the customs of a partrilineal community, such as the people who had the ancestor-cult certainly were, we find little difficulty in understanding why only the men of the *utu* were buried in the sitting position.

If such burials were supposed to be the relic of a sentiment once entertained against the return of the dead to the dwellings of the living, it would become extremely hard to explain why and how this sentiment, while lasting in respect of dead men, so lost its force in respect of dead women that these eventually came to be buried in the extended position.

For these reasons I incline to the belief that this form of sitting burial cannot be connected with those forms in Melanesia observed by Rivers and in his opinion practised by a people who feared the return of the dead. The sitting position used is not in my opinion an element introduced into the customary burial practices of the patrilineal, extended-interment people by a foreign race; it is a special development of the burial customs of the ancestor-worshipping race whose usual habit was extended burial; and this special development was brought about by the idea that the dead lived after death and

their bodies were capable of continual intercession for the living if buried in the prayerful attitude assumed by the "crop-maker" during life.

SITTING INTERMENT AND SUN CULT

The ritual connected with the fructification of the pandanus and the coconut by the *utu* of Kabora is suggestive of a sun cult, agricultural in character. The hour chosen was noon; the performer of the ritual must sit clear of all shade so that the sun covered his whole body; he turned his palms and his eyes straight up to the sky, and used a form of words that was obviously a prayer and not magic.

However, the external evidence is not conclusive; his prayer was addressed to the ancestor Kabora, and it may have been with the idea of getting an uninterrupted view of heaven, where Kabora lived, that he sat clear of all shade. Nevertheless it is still difficult to explain why the sun should necessarily stand at noon when he spoke to his ancestor. My feeling that the sun played a leading part in the functions and rites connected with fructification persists, and seems to be justified when we examine the sitting interment practised by the *utu.*

The attitude of the dead man was precisely similar to that of the living "crop-maker" while performing his ritual under the noon-day sun. And it has seemed natural to assume that the care that was taken not to disturb the remains arose from a desire that the continuity of this prayerful attitude should not be broken.

But we have still to find an explanation for the orientation of the body with feet to east in this sitting interment. In the vast majority of cases it has been seen that the feet were laid south to north, but in all these cases there has been found a definite reason for the exception, invariably connected with the migrations of the race. On one point every Gilbertese is agreed: that it is an impossible thing to bury a man in the extended position with feet east and head west.

Yet if what I am assuming about the origin of this sitting burial is correct, it was evolved by a social group within the very community which used extended burial. It must have been some very strong reason indeed which induced this branch to override the race prejudice in favour of the orientation with feet west, head east. Only two kinds of reason suggest themselves as important enough to work such a revolution: the first connected

with migration and the second with religion. The first we may leave out of the question: there is no likelihood of any migration from the east having come to the Gilbert Islands.

The only religious reason which could compel the orientation of the dead with face and feet to the east would be necessarily of a sort connected with the sun. The words of the dying Nimta to his family, “Make me sit when you bury me … Turn my face to the sun. If you do this you will have always good pandanus crops …” are in themselves good evidence in support of the theory

ORIENTATION
ABAIANG

People who were buried with head to south were not treated by magic. There was no *tabeatu* and no “straightening of the path” for the ghost. A cross was drawn on the face with burned coconut-husk—a line across the brow just above the eyebrows and a vertical line down the forehead to the nose-bridge.

The ceremony of *bomaki* was performed as usual.

The ghost went to the usual place: Bouru.

This method was called *te ruanrara* ‘the grave of blood’. The method of burying with head east was called *te ruanuea* ‘the grave of kings’, so named because it was the method of burying chiefs and securing the welcome of their ghosts among dead chiefs.

Cremation was used by conquerors in war, who always burned the bodies of the defeated.

The disposition of a body with head to the east was in order that the ghost should arise facing west, whither it went to be met by Nei Aibong, ghosts of chiefs, and Nei Karamakuna.

When a body was buried with head to the south the ghost arose and went north, to Naka, without meeting Nei Karamakuna.

It is given as a fact that a corpse was buried with head to the south whenever the family was ignorant of the magic accompanying eastward orientation.

ORIENTATION
ABEMAMA

Abemama is the only island on which I have found extended burial with head north and feet south. On this particular island, any other orientation is exceptional, though sometimes the body is laid with head east and feet west—the commonest of all positions on other islands.

Before burial, the body was treated on Abemama exactly as elsewhere. It is particularly to be noted that while still in the house, the body was kept with head east and feet west.

On Abemama is found the exceptional belief that the ghost, before
going to the land of the departed, must first visit the goddess Tituabine in a land called Matang-by-Samoa. Although it is not expressly believed that the disposition of the body with the feet to south was to set the ghost on the southward path to Samoa, the existence of this exceptional method of disposal side by side with an exceptional belief as to the path of the ghost seems very significant of the real intention of this orientation.

DEPARTURE OF THE GHOST
NORTHERN GILBERTS

If a small sudden shower of rain came over a village, it was believed that a soul had just passed. The shower was called *wan te mate* ‘the canoe of the dead’. If such a shower came when a man lay dying, and passed on leaving him still alive, the people beside him would say to each other, *“ai Kawa-ra nke e aki oa wana”* (“how unfortunate that he did not catch his canoe”). If another cloud was expected to arrive soon, the sick man would be encouraged to release his ghost quickly, so that it might pass easily with the rain.

A concrete example of this came to my attention in Tarawa early in 1916. We had just completed the gruesome office of hanging a murderer. As we quitted the gallows chamber a tiny shower passed over the building. One of the native officials, who had been particularly depressed by the distressing business, immediately recovered his spirits and said cheerfully, *“akea te bai iai, be bon roko-raoi wana ”* (“it’s quite all right, for his canoe has certainly arrived well”).

DESTINATION OF A WOMAN'S GHOST
BUTARITARI

A woman's shade at death was believed to go to Auriaria in the land of Matang and lie with him; a man's shade would lie with Nei Tituabine. So real was this belief that men have been known to commit suicide when they saw their wives dying, in order that their spirits might be there to prevent Auriaria from enjoying their wives.

LAYING THE GHOST
GILBERTS GENERALLY

If a dead man was buried without the preliminary ceremony of *tabeatu* 'lifting of the head' it was believed that because the path of the ghost had not been "made clear" before him, he would often return, and could be made by the magic of enemies to return, especially in dreams, to strangle the members of his family and to terrify them with evil thoughts. A cure for this was effected by the formula called *bongira,* which banished the ghost to its proper home. These were the words:

> Bongiraia, bongiraia, bongiraia, bongiraia! Ba i bongiraraia nakoia anti ni wawi nako maikoan te banna; ba I bongiraraiko nakoia anti ni karake; na N nangi nako, ba N nangi karabarabako i ani bain Auriaria ma Tabuariki. Ko a ti ewewe i etan au kainga ikai? Ma buki, ma baka, ma kakarabino ni mate i nanona. E rake ia? E rake i ani bongiraeau; ba I a keiakinai ba I baka. Tai, Nama-kaina-o! Ai ngkoe anne-o! Ai ngai aiei-o! E-e, N na kangi raia? N na kangia ma antia, ma aia wawi, ma a bane, Bongira riki, bongira naba, bongira n tabo! Ko nako!
>
> Darken him, darken him, darken him, darken him! For I darken him towards the spirits of sorcery in succession on this side of the corpse; for I darken you towards the spirits of raising ghosts; for I am about to go, for I am about to make you hide under the hand of Auriaria and Tabuariki. Why have you passed over my *kainga* here? So tumble, and fall, and roll down to die below. He rises where? He rises under my darkening of him; for I exert myself for I fall. Sun, Moon-o! Just you there-o! Just I here-o! E-e, I shall eat their what? I shall eat them with

> their spirits, with their sorcery, and so they are finished.
> Darkening more, darkening withal, darkening of places!
> Go!

This ceremony was performed at the point of dawn, facing east, in any place but preferably by the burial place of the dead person whose ghost was causing the trouble. The formula was repeated three times, while fresh water from a coconut shell was sprinkled over the head and shoulders with a circular sweep of the right arm, counter-clockwise in relation to a dial facing downwards.

RETURN OF THE GHOST
GILBERTS GENERALLY

If a cricket *(ningoningo)* sang continually by a man's house, it was believed that the ghost of a dead relative was speaking to the inmates. Small pieces of food would be thrown without any magic formula towards the sound, and in later days whiffs of tobacco smoke would be puffed in the same direction. The ghost, usually thought to be that of the latest deceased in the *utu,* would be addressed with familiar and affectionate words, and it would be thanked for returning to visit its people by day and not during the night, and begged to come again in the same manner. Its return during the hours of daylight was taken as a sign that the *tabeatu* ceremony had successfully "straightened its path" to the land of the departed, and as an assurance that it was pleased and would not visit them in evil dreams or strangle their children.

DEATH MYTHS
MAKIN

1. Nam Barereka had two wives: one on land, Nei Teramira; and one at sea, Nei Mamatenimone. Neither knew that the other woman existed. But once, when he was with his wife ashore Nei Mamatenimone called him to come to her at sea. He left Nei Teramira hurriedly and went to Mone under the sea, from where his other wife had called him. Nei Teramira was surprised that he left her so hurriedly, so she followed him. And at last she

found out that he had another wife. The two women quarrelled over the man, but in time they grew friendly and decided together to punish him for his duplicity.

Then Nei Teramira went east, and cast off the shoulder mat she wore and set it up as an invisible barrier past which her husband could not penetrate. And Nei Mamatenimone went back westward under the sea to Mone and closed the door of it forever against the man. He grieved for a long time, but could never again find either of his wives. At last he died of grief, and so death came into the world.

2. A second myth from Makin explains the feasting at deaths as follows:

Tebongimatengaina (night and day) lived with his sons and daughters on Makin. As yet death was unknown among them. But one day the father said to his children: “Prepare food for a feast; bring great plenty of *babai* and fish, and coconut.” So they prepared the feast, and he said, “I am about to die tomorrow morning, so make a merry feast tonight, and when I am dead continue to feast.” The next morning, as they were still eating and laughing, he died. They buried him and continued with their feast. To this day, therefore, people feast when a man dies.

3. A third death myth is as follows:

Nan Kineuei lived on Makin. He heard a rumour that people were going to be visited by death, so he went to the land of spirits to ask what this new thing was. They told him; and he asked them to give him some of their food to eat, by which he might be rendered deathless. They gave him some of their food *(te atimata);* but they said, “This will only render you deathless if you abstain from your wife when you return.” He said he would abstain, but when he got home he was unable to contain his desire. He lay with his wife. Shortly afterwards he died, and all people have been subject to death ever since.

4. Na Kaa was a man of Makin who attempted to count the waves of the sea as they broke on the northern end of the land. His tongue fell out after a time, because it had no rest. Its end split into two ribbons and it became a rock which can now be seen by the islet of Nantaubai. Na Kaa died. He was the first man to die. His ghost went and was caught in the strand of the Gatekeeper of the Land of Shades. If a man can avoid this net, he may return to his body.

5. Te Tabanou (Auriaria) loved a girl. He died for love of her, and the coconut grew from his body. His face may be seen in the end of the nut when it is husked.

Gods

THUNDER-GODS

Tribes of the Andes and the Australian continent symbolize thunder as a bird, “the flapping of whose pinions causes the reverberation of the storm.”

This character comes out clearly in the Nauruan tale of Areau the Elder and his bird, whose wing was broken by Areau the Younger. In the Nui version, the giant whose right arm was broken is no longer a bird, but he is called *te Ba* ‘the Thunder’. It is obvious that in these stories also, as in the Promethean myth, there is a distinct connection between the thunder-bird and the fire-stealing myth.

These conceptions are animistic. There is an anthropomorphic idea of the thunder-god also in the belief that the man-like god Tabuariki is the thunderer and rain-giver. But the fact that the sign of this god is a stone is a clear indication that the anthropomorphic idea of him is evolved from the animistic concept. Curiously enough there is a conception of Tabuariki recorded from Nauru that he was a frigate bird.

In the Gilberts the stone representing Tabuariki would invariably be a piece of coral, but it is probable that formerly the stone was a fire-producing stone, such as flint; and from this we may connect the Tabuariki idea with the Western concept of such a god as Brounger or Brunger. If such a connection is apparent the Gilbertese complex of Thunder-Rain-Stone is but the reflection of a universal set of ideas, shared by the Kiches of Central America, the Algonquins, the Navaho Indians, the Egyptians (with Hathor the sky goddess, the Lady of Turquoise), and the Scandinavian and Irish folk.

NEI TITUABINE

It is probable that Tituabine, the giant ray, was originally only a totem deity, who was exalted by the fortunes of her human *utu* into the position of eminence which she now holds. Being represented by a fish it was easy and natural to call her the "daughter of Tangaroa, or Tinirau," who throughout Polynesia are known as the fathers of fish.

CULT OF TABAKEA

A form of religious observance correlating very closely in externals to the cult of an ancestor at the monolith was the cult of the spirit Tabakea, whose body is said to be the turtle. Tabakea in myth was the father of Nareau and Auriaria, both of whom appeared as chief actors in the creation drama. On Banaba and Nui, Tabakea has the title *Moanibai* 'First of Things', usually accorded in other islands to Nareau. Throughout the Gilberts this being is closely connected with the origin of fire. Evidence seems to show that he was one of the gods of the aboriginal race of the Gilbert Islands, the dark-skinned people who were settled here before the invasion of the fairer people from the west.

The cult of Tabakea approaches nearer to the idea of a tribal cult than any other noted heretofore. On occasions of stress, disease, or necessity, when a group of *utu* allied for political or warlike purposes felt the approach of a common danger, a stone about 6 to 9 feet high would be erected in the maneaba, over against its eastern side, and halfway between the north and south ends. The senior man of Karongoa n Uea, the clan in the maneaba whose privilege it was to speak the first and the last word in assembly, would decide upon a day when all the *utu* should be gathered together to make offerings *(karea)* and prayers *(tataro)* at the stone.

The stone was wreathed with coconut leaves by the people of Karongoa raereke, the workers of acolytes of Karongoa n Uea. Before dawn on the given day the *utu* would gather, wearing fillets of coconut pinnules around their foreheads, and bringing food with them. The first portion would be taken by the spokesman of Karongoa n Uea and laid before the stone. The people would then eat their food, putting off their fillets while eating. When this was done, the fillets would be resumed and the spokesman would offer his prayer on behalf of the whole assembly.

SKILL OF THE GODS IN DANCING

Nareau is reported by current tradition up and down the Gilberts to have been ignorant of the *ruoia* or any form of dance.

Taburimai, Auriaria, Tituabine, and their associates were the dancers, and their favourite gibe at Nareau was his ineptitude in this pastime.

Tabakea, who lived ashore *(i eta)* on Tarawa, was a dancer. He and his people used flowers and plants as wreaths for head and body while dancing.

Bakoa, who lived in the sea *(i nano)* in the west with his people, was also a dancer. He used porpoise-and whale-tooth ornaments, as well as human teeth.

History

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY HIGH CHIEFS OF TARAWA

This genealogy (Table 3) was not taken from the authorities of any single island. As it stands, it represents a far more comprehensive knowledge than any individual school of Gilbertese genealogists now commands, having been built up out of a host of separate (and jealously segregated) narratives collected in the course of twelve years' research from island to island of the group.

Each separate detail of the genealogy, however, represents a point of view on which half a dozen authorities, whatever else may be their differences, agree, and the whole may, I think, be regarded as the greatest common factor of Gilbertese knowledge about the Kiratas today.

It is obvious that the early names given in the pedigree are merely figurative and represent individuals only by reference to the groups or countries to which they belonged. By the "Trees of Nabanaba" in column 1 we are to understand the distinguishing mark, perhaps the totem, of a race or clan that inhabited Nabanaba; by Nareau Tekikiteia in column 2 is meant a person claiming descent from the separator of heaven and earth. In column 3 the name of Tabuki-n-Tarawa, the man "created by Nareau on Tarawa," means "The Eminent Man of Tarawa" and signifies the chiefly representative of an autochthonous group considered to have grown with the land. In column 4 Taburimai is the name of a clan deity and stands for all the members of his clan who migrated from the north to Samoa.

It is still a common Gilbertese practice to designate a whole group of people by the clan deity's name. *Taburimai te koraki aei* (lit., "Taburimai the company this") in modern speech means "These people belong to a Taburimai clan." *E roko Taburimai i abara* (lit. "He arrives Taburimai at land-our") signifies "Some people of the Taburimai clan have arrived at our island."

Table 3. Genealogy of the early high chiefs of Tarawa

MALE SIDE		FEMALE SIDE	
1	2	3	4
	NAREAU THE ELDER who started the work of Creation, making first Tarawa, then Samoa, then "all lands" in the darkness of Chaos		
THE TREES of Nabanaba, a land far to westward of Tarawa. THE TREES were called THE MAN and THE WOMAN	NAREAU THE SON, called TEKIKI-TEIA, who separated Heaven from Earth, made the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and finally created Man—the Breed of the North (Tarawa, Beru), and the Breed of the South (Samoa)	TABUKI-N-TARAWA created by Nareau Tekikiteia on Tarawa, with his "sisters" Nei Temaiti, Nei Baia, Nei Rotebenua. Married Nei Baia	TABURIMAI of the North, created by Nareau Tekikiteia. Also described as the son of Tabakea (Turtle) and Nei Unikai (Grey Nurse). Migrated from the north to Samoa
			(Unknown number of missing generations)
TAUABA, King of Nabanaba = Nei Tekarara			KOURABI of Samoa married Nei Aeriki and Nei Tekawai-ni-Mone, both of Samoa
NEI TEKANUEA of Nabanaba who migrated to Tarawa with "a root of the Tree of Nabanaba"	A person of Tarawa called by the patronymic = NAREAU TEKIKI-TEIA, who made three voyages to Samoa	NEI BATIAUEA of Tarawa, who "held the anchor of the land"— i.e., was a person of chiefly rank =	BARETOKA of Samoa who fled northwards to Tarawa, in order to avoid an unwelcome marriage
TE ARIKI-N-TARAWA------married------NEI TERERE of Tarawa made a voyage back to Nabanaba and returned to Tarawa			

KIRATA THE ELDEST (the lover of *kabubu*)
of Tarawa: married Nei Kimoauea of Samoa, who was fetched to be his wife by Nareau, his paternal "grandfather." Nei Kimoauea was a descendant of Nei Temaiti, the "sister" of Tabuki-n-Tarawa and was thus of Tarawa stock settled in Samoa

KIRATA THE SECOND
of Tarawa: married Nei Teraiti, the "sister" of a traditional clan ancestor named Bue, who claimed the Sun as his progenitor, and migrated into Tarawa from a western land called Tebongiroro or Roro

KIRATA THE THIRD
of Tarawa: married Nei Beia and Nei Kabwebwe of Samoa, who came to Tarawa at the time of a mass migration from the south into the Gilbert Group

(There were twenty-two generations in 1920 to adult living descendants)

SETTLEMENT OF BUTARITARI BY RAIRAUEANA NEI BIRIA, *BUTARITARI*

When Rairaueana's son Teimauri was grown up, he married Nei Rakentai, the daughter of Beia-ma-Tekai with Nei Kiririere, on Tabiteuea.

Teimauri and his wife went to live at Tarawa, the home of Beia-ma-Tekai. They had three children there: Rairaueana II, Mangkia, and Na Atanga.

Rairaueana II grew up cruel and hot-headed: his amusement was to kill the people of Tarawa and to threaten his own brothers with death. So his mother reproved him, saying that Tarawa was not great enough to hold his insolence, and telling him that he had better set out and conquer another land. He decided to make war on Butaritari. It was arranged that when he had subdued the island his mother and brothers should follow him.

He set forth with a fleet of Tarawa canoes, manned by his mother's people. His captains were named Karibantarawa, Toanuea, Teauoki-ni-bong, and another whose name is lost. Tradition calls them his brothers on his mother's side.

They landed at Ukiangang (the south end of Butaritari), fought a battle at Tennewe, and defeated the inhabitants. From there they swept up the island, by land and lagoon at the same time, to Keuea, where another battle was won by them. A third engagement was won at Kuma, and a fourth at Makin. On this last island Rairaueana settled down to rule as high chief.

When news of the victory came to Tarawa, Nei Rakentai, with her husband and sons, sailed for Butaritari. But when Rairaueana saw his brothers coming, he hated them and made ready to kill them. But his mother reproved him again saying, "If you cannot ever be at peace with your brothers then go again and find another land that will contain your insolence." So he left in anger and set sail northward until he came to Mire (Mille [Mili], in the Marshall Group). He conquered it, and his descendants are there until now. Some of these came back to Butaritari about ten years ago and established their relationship with the local descendants of Rairaueana's brothers.

So Na Atonga and Mangkia stayed on Butaritari and Makin when their brother left. Na Atonga was the elder and became high chief. He called the warriors who had conquered the islands and distributed the land among them. The captains were his brothers on his mother's side.

To Karibantarawa he gave the chiefship of Makin; and these were his instructions to him: "Your perquisite there shall be the *bauarereke* and deep-sea fish, and the *binobino ni kamai;* none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

To Toanuea he gave Kuma; and these were his instructions: "Your perquisite there shall be the inner parts of the porpoise, and the fish called *okaoka,* and the *bauarereke,* and the *binobino ni kamai;* none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

To Teauoki-ni-bong he gave Keuea; and these were his instructions: "Your perquisite there shall be the *bobo-n-tewe,* and the fish called *nini mai* and the *okaoka,* and the *binobino ni kamai* and the *bauarereke;* none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

To the fourth chief, whose name is lost, he gave Tanimaiaki and these were his instructions to him: "Your perquisite there shall be the *aua* and deep-sea fish, and the *bobo-n-tewe,* the *okaoka,* the *bauarereke* and the *kamai;* none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

So they all went to their districts and collected the conquered people to work on their lands, and they subdivided their lands among their own companions.

Na Atonga and his brother Mangkia took all of the island of Butaritari south of Tanimaiaki as their private share, and they lived in the village called Butaritari.

At that time the chieftains of Beru, Kaitu and Uakeia, had set out with a great host and conquered every island of the group as far north as Marakei. They were preparing to set out from Marakei to overcome Butaritari and Makin. Na Atonga grew alarmed.

Mangkia, the brother of Na Atonga, had grown into a terrible man. He was a giant; his teeth were as long as a child's fingers; and his chief pleasure was to eat human flesh. Everyone hated and feared him. So Na Atonga said to him: "You shall go as a messenger to Kaitu and Uakeia, taking gifts with you; and you shall prevent them from making war upon our land."

So Mangkia set out in a canoe, with a crew of giant stature. They did not sail, but paddled the whole sixty miles to Betio. And when they came to Betio they learned that the chiefs were at Taratai; so they paddled another fifteen miles to Taratai. There they landed, and so amazed the Beruans by their stature and fierce manners that they were willing to promise not to invade Butaritari, for they said to themselves, "Are all the warriors of Butaritari like these?" So Mangkia gave them the presents he had brought: *te baraitoa* 'the hood' and *te kie ni karaba* 'the mat of invisibility', which caused a man wearing it to become invisible to his fellows.

Then Mangkia and his men set forth to the southward. They never returned to Butaritari but went to Abemama, where they settled. Mangkia became the ancestor of the high chiefs of Abemama.

Na Atonga lived and died the high chief of Butaritari and Makin. He had three children: the eldest Kourabi, a man; the second Kakiaba, a man; and the third Nei Mauri-te-uea, a girl. Kourabi lived at Tongaieta; he was disliked by women, and few people cared to live in his settlement. Kakiaba lived at Tebukintake and had a large harem and settlement, for he was beloved. Kourabi was bitterly jealous and made war on his brother, but he was defeated and fled to Abaiang, where his descendants still live.

Kakiaba remained as high chief on Butaritari and Makin.

Bunatao was the eldest son of Kakiaba. The descendants of the various chiefs who had been appointed by his grandfather began to be too powerful and restless; so he decided to exterminate them. First he made war on Makin and conquered the descendants of Karibantarawa. He killed every man, woman, and child of the family, to the latest born. Next he wiped out the Kuma chiefs, the descendants of Toanuea. Only two were saved alive, Tebai and Mataianti, because they alone knew the

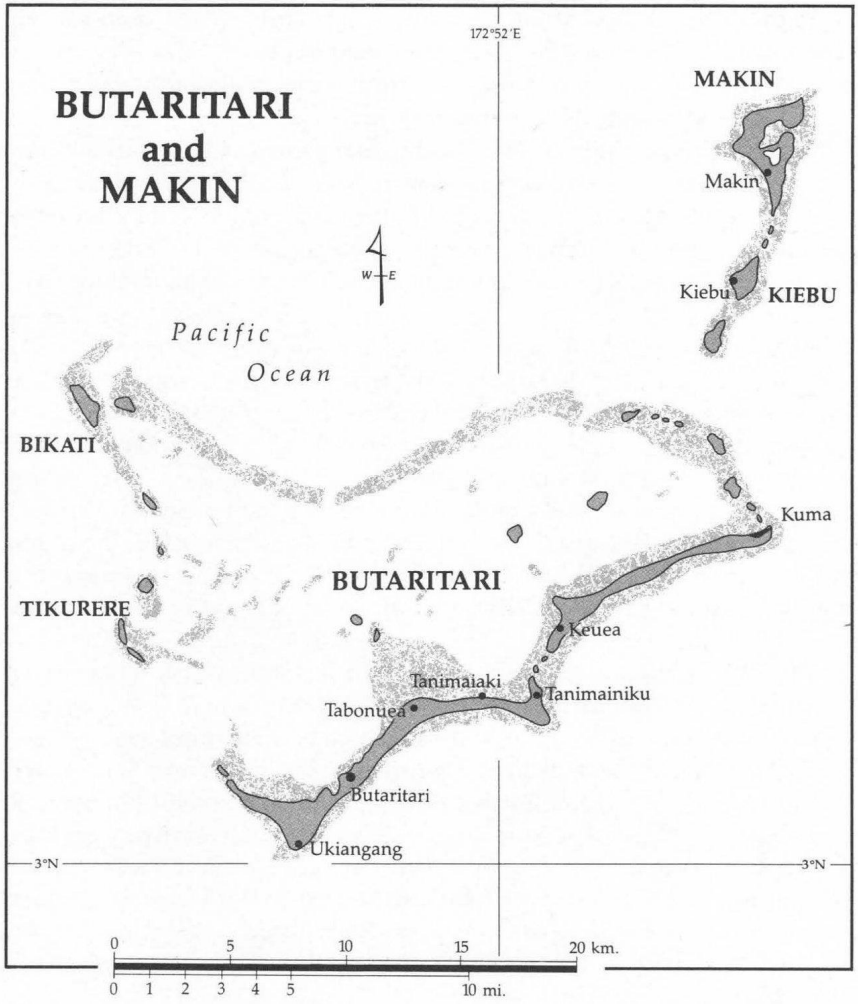


Figure 7. Butaritari and Makin

magic connected with a man's initiation ceremonies. Then followed the extermination of the Keuea and Tanimaiaki chieftains, in the same manner.

When this was done Bunatao went to live at Makin, while his father, Kakiaba, remained on Butaritari with his six other children.

One of Kakiaba's favourite resting places was the islet of Bikati, on the lagoon reef of Butaritari. He spent long months there and neglected the affairs of Butaritari more and more as he grew older. This gave the opportunity needed by the slave class to make a conspiracy to overthrow the ruling chiefs.

A slave named Itinua was leader of the plot. During one of Kakiaba's absences the people rose and, entering the king's settlement, speared all the occupants, including the wives and children of the king. Only two of his children escaped the slaughter, Tetabakea and Teitibonuea, who had been adopted by some of the slaves and were hidden by them.

So the insurgents took possession of the whole island, while Kakiaba remained in fear on Bikati.

When Bunatao, his eldest son, heard the news on Makin he collected all his people and made a swift descent by night on the settlement of Keuea. He found Itinua in the maneaba all unready for battle; he himself had few people with him; neither side dared to force the issue, and the meeting resulted only in the exchange of a few words. Then Bunatao returned unmolested to his canoes and sailed to the village of Butaritari. Thence he sent messengers to Ukiangang and in twelve hours had gathered together a formidable army to meet the forces of Itinua.

He began by searching out every relation and friend of Itinua who could be found in Ukiangang and Butaritari settlements and putting them to death. Then he and his men marched up to the northern part of Tanimaiaki district. Itinua, with his hastily gathered faction, came south from Keuea to meet him, and a battle was fought between the two places. A crushing defeat was inflicted on Itinua; every member of his *utu,* on both the male and female sides, was put to death.

After this, Kakiaba asked Bunatao to remain as high chief of Butaritari, but he preferred Makin and abandoned his claim to the kingship of the larger island, which reverted then to his younger brother Teitibonuea.

But after a while Bunatao began to be jealous of his brother; he chafed when he saw the food of Makin being sent as high chief-right to Teitibonuea. So he decided to make war upon him.

When he came to Butaritari his father met him and using fair words persuaded him to go and make war upon another island instead of his own flesh and blood. After a hot discussion Bunatao consented to attempt the conquest of Marakei.

Once arrived at Marakei he does not seem to have made war upon the people. Tradition says that he landed and persuaded many warriors to join him in a war against his brothers. After a short time he led his force northward and made for the land at a place called Nakiroro on Butaritari. His canoes had been sighted long before, and a force descended upon the shoal to prevent his landing. A bloody battle was fought in the shallows called Tebikenimone. Both sides fought to exhaustion without a definite result. Then Bunatao consented to parley with his father and brothers. As a result, he sent the remnant of his host back to Marakei and stayed in peace with his people. Eventually he returned to Makin. Teitibonuea continued to be high chief, and his descendants in the male line remain so until this day.

Teauoki, son of Teitibonuea, seems to have ruled in peace, and so did his descendants, Teatumateatata and Teitimaroroa (although Teitimaroroa had conflict with his wife's people). But family jealousy was again aroused in the fourth generation from Teitibonuea.

Kaiea I, the son of Teitimaroroa, was high chief when Ibeatu, his father's brother's son, began to make trouble. He went about the island boasting that he would soon be king. Kaiea went to Ibeatu's father and attempted to make peace, but the old man was powerless to restrain his son. So Kaiea decided on war. He led a small host to Buariki, the home-place of Ibeatu, and attacked him in daylight. Guns had lately arrived in Butaritari. One of Kaiea's men, named Roroa, with his first shot put a bullet through Ibeatu's head. The high chief's people then went forward to make an end of the whole faction. But when Ibeatu's father saw his son fall, he ran forward and, setting his heel upon the dead man's head, said, "You have killed the offender, my son and your brother. I am your father's brother, I beg you to stay your anger." At this Kaiea was ashamed to go further: he slew no more; but he took possession of the lands of Ibeatu, with those of the rest of that branch except one, Nei Kabutibo, whom he married. Their descendants, who number sixty or more, are slaves to this day, although quite closely related to the high chief. The last scene in this drama was enacted before the Lands Commission in 1922, when the descendants of Ibeatu claimed to re-enter as chiefs upon their lost lands. They lost their case.

Kaiea I died without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bureimoa, who was ruling in the 1880s when Stevenson visited Butaritari, and his distant kinsman Binoka was high chief of Abemama. Bureimoa saw the coming of the

British flag in 1892 and was the first native magistrate to be appointed by Swain, the British resident commissioner. His son Tabu succeeded him but did not live very long. Tabu's son is now high chief: a man of about forty, who is childless. The chiefship will pass, if he dies without issue, to his brother Akoi, who is also childless; and after him to the third brother Koriri and his male issue.

SECRECY OF CLAN TRADITIONS

The traditional stories concerning the origin and ancestry of all Gilbertese clans are more or less secret. But there is a vast difference in the degree of secrecy with which they are guarded, as between the clan of Karongoa n Uea and all the other social groups of the islands. The traditions of most Gilbertese clans are not, and were never, very jealously concealed. Although a man would not go so far, perhaps, as to coach a stranger in the lore of his clan, he would have no objection against discussing it openly before the old men of the maneaba. It was not sacred to him, nor was it kept hidden from any member of his own social group.

But with Karongoa n Uea it was different. Not only was it forbidden for a member of his clan to discuss the ancestry and early history of his group before an audience of outsiders, he must also keep it secret from his fellow clansmen. Only the senior branch was supposed to possess this information, and although the elder might pass it on to several people of his own generation he had the power of forbidding these to communicate it even to their children. He himself would pass it, as a rule, only to his eldest son; or if he had no sons, to the senior representative of the collateral line who would succeed to the eldership of the clan. He might, however, communicate it to his daughter, generally the youngest, to "console her for a small inheritance of land." In this case the daughter would be sure of honour in her generation, for she would have to be referred to as an authority when her father died. But on pain of becoming *maraia* 'accursed' she might not impart the tradition to her own children, since these by their father would be members of another clan.

Only the traditions of Karongoa n Uea, therefore, among all the Gilbertese clans, may be regarded as truly secret. These are most difficult of access, even today, when the ancient reserves are fast dying, and the old teachings discarded as valueless.

Members of Karongoa n Uea assert that their secretiveness is intended as a protection against imposture. They say that everyone would like to belong to their clan if he could, since its prestige in the maneaba gives it a special place in the regard of all Islanders. If the clan traditions were not concealed, strangers from other islands might dishonestly use them, both to impose upon the hospitality of a local branch and to usurp privileges not belonging to them by right of birth.

But the same explanation is given by members of other clans of their unwillingness to divulge the traditions of their ancestry. They also do not wish to be hoodwinked into entertaining a stranger not entitled by birth to their hospitality; and they have enough of clan pride to resent the thought of sharing their minor privileges in the maneaba with an outsider. Yet the secrecy of their traditions is infinitely less than the privacy which enwraps those of Karongoa n Uea.

I think that the true explanation of the especial secrecy of Karongoa n Uea is suggested by the concealment of the clan traditions even from the majority of its own members. I believe that certain aspects of *boti* organization, marriage, and totemism can best be explained by supposing that when the Karongoa n Uea people invaded the Gilbert Group from Samoa, they found in possession of the islands a folk having fundamentally the same social system as themselves. They found, in fact, people of their own clan and ancestry. These, as a consequence of the invasion, became a subject community, and it was not compatible with the pride of the conquerors to receive them on the footing of clan brotherhood, which might otherwise have been expected. In other notes, I argue that this set of conditions was probably at the root of the ability of clan members having the same totems and ancestors to intermarry. I suggest now that it also caused the extra secretiveness of the Karongoa n Uea concerning their origins and ancestors. Although the people they conquered possessed the same original traditions as themselves, they had not lived in Samoa and therefore lacked a knowledge of Samoan generations. The Samoa tradition was therefore made the standard of Karongoa n Uea membership by the invaders, and all who failed to qualify by that test were excluded from clan brotherhood. Secrecy as to the Samoan traditions, it follows, would have been the first precaution taken to keep the exclusion permanent.

THE BERU CONQUERORS ON MARAKEI

The names of the invading warriors in the war of Kaitu and Uakeia who settled on Marakei, and the lands taken by them from the defeated Islanders are given in Table 4.

Ten Rinouna, with a small company of the original inhabitants, remained at sufferance at Tabonteaba. There were also a few others left on the east side of the island, but most of them fled in their canoes and were never seen again.

The descendants of Tekewekewe, the first of the Beru conquerors on Marakei, are given in Figure 8, and the generations from the Beru conquest in Figure 9.

THE ADVENT OF EUROPEANS WRITTEN IN ENGLISH BY AN ANONYMOUS GILBERTESE *BUTARITARI*

About eighty to one hundred years ago there were no Europeans on Butaritari or Makin. During the reign of Teitimaroroa the first European is said to have arrived. At this time, although the people were cannibals, they lived fairly peaceably and did not practise cannibalism unless forced to by lack of food.

A ship arrived, and a member of the crew was purposely put ashore and left while the ship sailed away. This man was known by the natives as Bob. [1] He had no possessions of any kind, not even stores, and he was forced to live with the natives in Takarakintonga. Perhaps the natives held him in awe because of his long beard, which is said to have reached nearly to his waist. He soon learned how to cut toddy and it was apparently not long before he discovered that toddy allowed to ferment made a potent alcoholic beverage. [2]

In return for the hospitality of the natives he is said to have taught them three things. Probably he taught them many more, but the following three seemed to have stuck in the mind of my old story-teller:

How to make a mosquito net;
How to make a lamp;
How to drink sour toddy.

Before Bob’s arrival, the Gilbertese idea of a mosquito net was a small erection like a tent, with a ridge-pole made of a sleeping mat, and which accommodated only one person. Bob apparently

Table 4. Lands taken by the Beru conquerors on Marakei

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	LAND
Kataueana		Awiang
Taukoriri	brothers	Onabike
Tetabea		Onabike
Tekatabanga	brothers	Marena
Tekabengu		Marena
Kairo		Terokoniborau
Tekewekewe		Teboitu
Tatonga		Tenimano
Rangatao	brother and sister	Bino
Nei Temai		Tekitantano
Beru		Abantaua
Kaotira*		Raweai
Kaotinuea	brother and sister	Aontetia
Nei Tabiria		Nanonteo
Tetonganga		Teabike

**Kaotira was a Marshall Islander settled on Abemama, who accompanied the war party.*

manufactured a large square affair which allowed room for two or more people. The only means of illumination the Islanders had was by keeping fires going all the time. If the fire died there was no light. Bob made fire by rubbing two pieces of wood to-

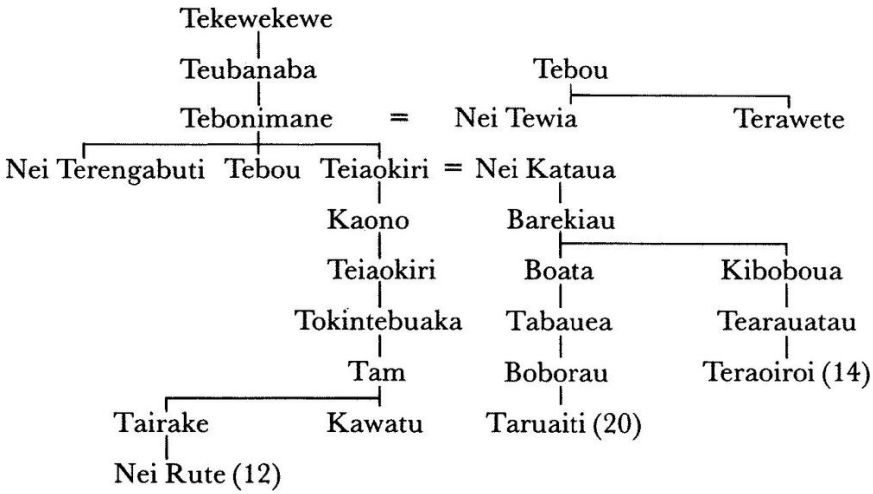


Figure 8. Descendants of Tekewekewe, the first conqueror on Marakei from Beru. Numbers in parentheses are the approximate ages of living persons, c. 1922.

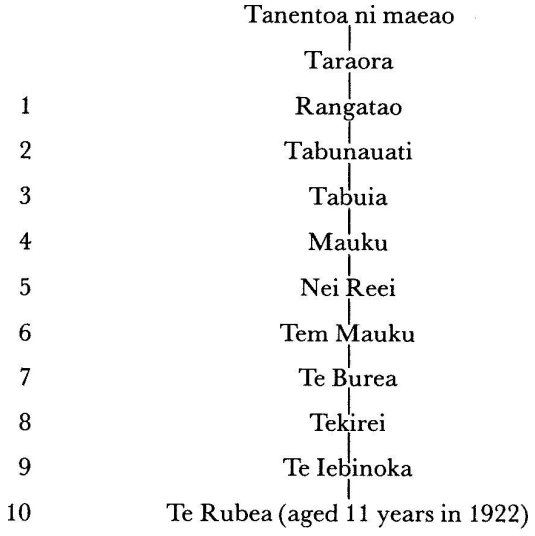


Figure 9. Generations from the Beruan conquest of Marakei

gether. And he used a half-clam shell, filled with coconut oil in which was the pounded-up dried sheath of the spathe of the coconut *(te roro),* which was weighted at one end by means of a stone serving as a wick. Bouts of drinking sour toddy seemed to pass away a lot of spare time.

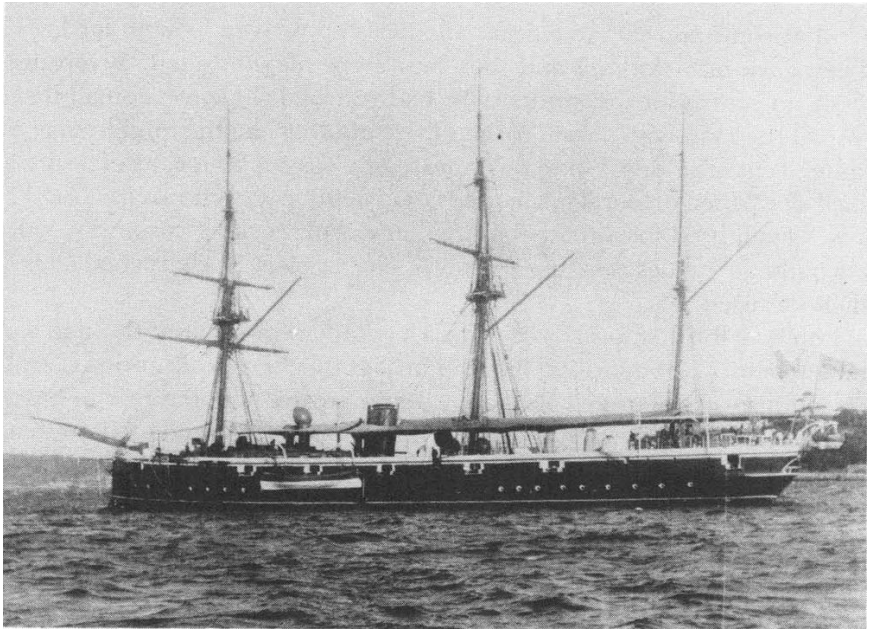
After some considerable time, another ship arrived looking for Bob. They gave him clothing and took him away off the island. Before he went, in return for the kindness he had received, he gave a small iron ring to the man with whom he had lived in order that he might make a knife to cut his toddy. Up to this time toddy was cut by means of a small shell sharpened on coral stone. This toddy cutter was known as *te katati,* a word still used for a toddy-cutting knife. For working coconut wood, for building canoes, making weapons, etc., a piece of sharpened clamshell was used.

Later, a third ship arrived with a captain whose name the natives remember as Kabunare. [3] This ship brought tobacco to Butaritari, and traded it for coconut oil. The king, Teitimaroroa, was the first to have tobacco, and it was made a law that if any native acquired tobacco that person was to bring it to the king to sample first. The custom was known as *totomataniwi.* This was all right when the people of the king's village came singly to his house. But a crowd of people from faraway villages arrived with their tobacco one day, and the king had so much smoke that he was violently sick and fainted. Thereupon he abolished the custom of *totomataniwi.*

After this, many ships arrived for the purpose of trading and acquiring oil. The pots that are now at Kiebu were first landed at Butaritari so that the natives could prepare coconut oil. Later copra was wanted; and the pots, no longer required, were taken to Kiebu for the purpose of holding rain-water on account of the difficulty in getting good well-water.

From one visiting vessel a man whom the natives called Koa Koa, and who informed the natives that he came from Parramatta [Sydney], was left ashore at the small island of Tikurere in the Butaritari lagoon. [4] Here he opened a trading store. For copra he traded such things as rifles and ammunition, food, cannons, whiskey, gin, and rum. There was, thereafter, much drunkenness and fighting, and many people were killed. The cannons, some of which were quite big affairs, were used for making a noise and frightening people.

On one occasion a ship came to Ukiangang, and many Butaritari people went on board. A sailor prepared to fire a cannon, and when the people saw this they jumped overboard and



HMS Royalist (Captain E. H. M. Davis), which toured the Gilbert Group in 1892 declaring the islands a British protectorate. (Maude collection)

stayed under water in order not to hear the explosion. One man, Tokamau, stayed on the ship. After the explosion the natives came to the surface, except one man, Naekauti, who was slow in coming up. Tokamau dived into the water and met Naekauti under the surface, and intimated to him that the cannon was to be fired again, whereupon Naekauti stayed under water and was drowned. Tokamau and all the other natives climbed back on board and while there stole as much as they were able before going ashore in their canoes.

Tokamau and another native, Temwemwe, went ashore in one canoe and proceeded to show the things they had stolen to one another. Temwemwe produced an earthenware cup, whereupon Tokamau said it was a poisonous thing and ran away and hid himself in such a position as to be able to spy on Temwemwe. Temwemwe believed that the cup was poisonous and also ran away, whereupon Tokamau returned and stole the cup for himself.

The flag was brought to Butaritari by Captain Davis, who hoisted it at the king’s residence. Mr. Campbell was the first Administrative Officer. [5]

Magic

TYPES OF MAGIC

There are two very distinct types of magic in the Gilberts: *te kawai* and *te tabunea.*

Te kawai is purely ritual, being unaccompanied by incantations or spoken spells of any kind. An example is the simple burning of a fire in a circle surrounded by a square in the preparations of a poet to compose his song.

Te tabunea is an incantation or spell. It is generally found in combination with ritual, in which case the ritual is called *te kawai* and the spoken charm *te tabunea.* Both ritual and words are equally important to success in such an event, the one being considered powerless for good or evil without the other.

In a few cases a pure *tabunea* is found—simply spells without ritual—an example being the exhortation to the Sun and Moon made by a poet before his song is first raised in the maneaba.

MAGIC AND PRAYER

It is obvious that there is a vast difference between such examples of magic as the *wawi* and the appeal to the moon; and between the *tabu* of a coconut tree and the address to an ancestor.

The word ‘magic’ is used to designate such actions, whether of word or gesture, as are so secret in character that their benefit is definitely limited to the individual performing them; which depend for their efficacy upon what is called *te manewe* and *te kawai* (the precise word of power and the exact ritual

used); and which claim to control or command the obedience of the spiritual being (if any) addressed, and therefore lack any element of appeal.

On the other hand the word 'prayer' is used to designate that class of actions which, while being addressed towards a spiritual power, is open in character at least to the extent that an individual may perform the ceremonial for the benefit of other spectators beside himself; which is not dependent for its success upon a stereotyped form of words or gestures; and which is characterized by the element of appeal or propitiation of a superior being.

Between magic and prayer thus defined is to be found in the Gilberts a third form of magico-religious ceremonial, invariably (so far as I know) connected with the cult of the sun, which seems to partake of the elements of both. In some cases, it seems to be secret in the essential sense that its benefit is limited to the performer, but it is at other times of an open and even a public character; and like magic, it is stereotyped in its formulae, but it has the nature of prayer in that it is addressed as an appeal or supplication to a power held in awe and fear. If my definitions of magic and prayer are sound, then we have here a type of ritual which is neither the one nor the other, but a hybrid of both.

A very definite distinction exists in the Gilbertese mind between magic and prayer. Magic is called generically by them *tabunea,* while prayer is called *tataro.* I do not wish to imply that the Gilbertese native more than any other primitive man has reached the stage of defining the precise nature of his mental attitude towards the spiritual powers that he recognizes. But if you give him concrete examples of *tabunea* and *tataro* he is quite incapable of confusing the one with the other, of calling by the name *tabunea* that which is *tataro,* or vice versa.

It is certainly indicative of a pretty clear realization of values when an old woman of about seventy, on being asked outright what was the difference between a *tataro* and a *tabunea* in her view, answered immediately and in a tone of expostulation, as if the question was absurd: *"Kai, a kaokoro, a kaokoro! Te bubuti te tataro, ao te tabunea bon tiaki te bubuti! Aongkoa!"* ("Why, they are different, they are different! The *tataro* is a begging, and the *tabunea* is certainly not a begging! Forsooth!").

This answer is striking, particularly because it plunges right to the heart of the psychological difference between the two things. The old woman might have been expected, if she saw any distinction at all, to have given salience to the material

rather than the psychological factor. She might have answered, for example, that in a *tataro* you give propitiatory offerings to the power addressed, whereas in a *tabunea* you do not. This she certainly knew, because she referred to it in the course of the conversation that followed; but there can be no doubt from the vigour of her first answer that it was the difference of mental attitude above all which struck her as the salient difference distinguishing the *tataro* from the *tabunea.*

TE KANANGARAOI: TO BRING GOOD LUCK TO AN ENTERPRISE

This is an incantation to bring good luck to any enterprise. A *bunia* 'sweet husked coconut' is taken, and a fire made with the husk. Oil is made from the flesh and the remains of the flesh burned. The person crosses his or her arms, with elbows well pressed down, and the hands reaching round to the opposite shoulder-blades, having been first laid in the oil. With a slow rubbing movement of the hands, the man or woman speaks:

Ngaia borae borau,
Boran Tabakea—ai—ee.
Ngaia ti akoakoi naba,
Ngaia 'nne ti boningai
Tebutinang i nanoni win Ten Tibaua.
Ngaia te akoakina
Ngaia buroto.
Anangau tera, anangau te anangaraoi.
Anangau tera, anangau te bakatauraoi.
I naku teinaki; wau te wa;
Kanau te amarake.

This is performed at daybreak, noon, and sunset for three days in succession.

TE TAIBENAU: FOR GOOD FORTUNE

This is a very useful spell for bringing good luck in love; for turning indifference to affection; or for averting the evil effects of eating forbidden or unlucky food such as *te rerebuki* 'pointed end of a coconut', *te atu* 'head of a fish', or *te buare* 'silver bladder in the intestine of a fish'.

The rite is performed in the lagoon shallows or the washing pool at sunset. The man or woman sits in the shallows facing west, elbows bent and palms downward, stroking the surface of the water. With eyes fixed on the setting sun, the following spell is whispered:

Tebo tebo i tari ngai
Ma e a nanako buakakau
Ma e a nanako i benau
Ma e a nanako buritarikau.
Mawa nako tabon au roro
    Mawa nako.
    Mawa nako.
    Mawa nako-e-e-e.
    Mawa nako!

Another spell of the same order is also performed sitting towards the west. In this instance the hands are placed sideways in the water, elbows bent. Both together the hands are then used to scoop the water towards the breast, with the following chant:

    O katikan narean
    Au te wa e kanikan
    O katikan narean
    Au te wa tabunio.
Manen etao tarai.
Unimane nao tarai.
Rorobuaka nao tarai.
Bitaki ma tarai.
Ba ti ngai aine n te aba aei,
Betio aei—ngaia-o-o!
    Ti ngai naba,
    Ti ngai naba,
    Ti ngai naba-o-o!

TE KAUTI: TO MAKE ONE BRAVE AND STRONG IN WAR

Go to the eastern beach in the dark before dawn, taking any weapon of war with you. Sit facing the east on the beach and wait for the sunrise. Hold the weapon in your right hand, together with three pinnules plucked from the crest of a coconut tree growing on the eastern shore.

As the sun rises beat the weapon and the pinnules against your breast, chanting:

Boa ni manawau aio! Tabwena ni ngaina mainiku.
Ba I arakina tera? Ba I arakina te un.
Ba I arakina tera? Ba I arakina te tau.
Ba I arakina te ba are e rebwerebwe i rarikini karawa mainiku.
Ba I aki bubu, ba I aki rawarawa, ba I aki mamao, ma un-ee:
Te un, te tau, te mauri!

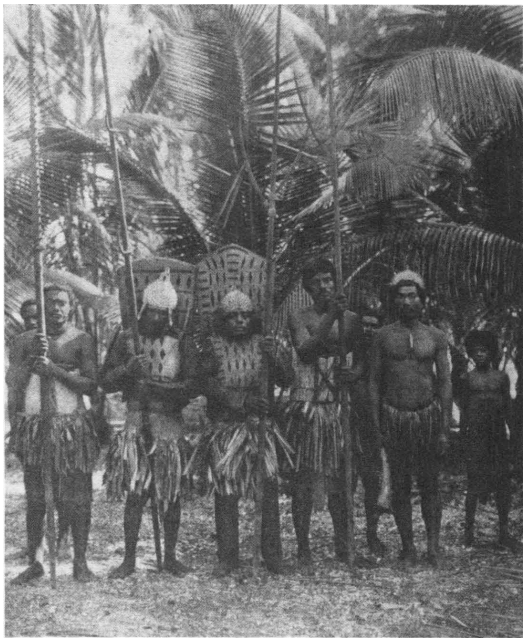
Strike of my breast here! Breaking of light in the east.
For what do I approach? For I approach anger.
For what do I approach? For I approach readiness.
For I approach the thunder which rolls on the side of heaven in the east.
For I am not cowardly, for I am not unwilling, for I am not slow in war, but angry-ee:
Anger, readiness, safety!

MAGIC FOR PROTECTION IN BATTLE

This is a charm to turn away the weapons of your enemies in battle. Just before the fight you make a necklace of a single pinnule from the leaf of a coconut, and while holding it in your hands you say:

E bungi te kai, e a ra bungi te kai!
Ma N na bitia ni katanrio-ia, ni katanrake-ia.
E bungi te kai, e maku te kai, bu-u-u!
Te mauri!

The weapon is descending, it has nearly descended!
But I shall deflect it downwards or upwards.



A war party on Tabiteuea, 1897. (Kramer 1906, 273)

The weapon is descending, it is afraid, a coward-u-u!
All is well!

Note that in this incantation there is no spiritual being of any sort addressed. [1]

MAGIC FOR PROTECTION AT SEA

If you are travelling between islands and see a *rereba* 'kingfish' swimming by your canoe, you know that it has been sent from *mone* 'the underworld' to warn you of the approach of violence from the spirits under the sea. You can protect yourself by the following magic spell, which is said three times, leaning over and looking down at the fish:

Na rereba tabaniban-o,
Wairio, wairio-o.
Tuangia uea n aoni Mone

Ba antai ba-aweawe
Tabuna karawa, tabuna Mone?
Nako i mwi ma nako i moa ma e-e!
E ieie nan te anti-a!

Striped kingflsh go,
Go westwards go.
Take counsel with the lords of Mone
For who would disregard
The warnings sent by heaven and the underworld?
Slip back astern, forge on ahead-e-e!
The spirit host sails o'er the sea-a! [2]

CALLING THE PORPOISES
KITINA, *BUTARITARI*

There is an *utu* at Kuma on Butaritari, whose *unimane* is called Kitina (Kitchener), which claims the power of calling the porpoise at will.

This *utu* belongs to Mone, the land under the sea. When a member dies he does not go to the land of Bouru or Matang, to which other people go, but to Mone, his spiritual home.

A member of this *utu* claims the power of bringing the porpoise to shore at any season of the year. Having been asked by the high chief to call the shoal, the "caller" goes and lies down with feet to westward. He passes into a natural sleep, during which he claims that his spirit quits his body and goes westward to the islet of Bikati; there it dives under the sea, straight down to the spiritual replica of Bikati in Mone. Here live the porpoises. When the caller's spirit comes among them, they are men in the bodies of men, and wear men's clothes.

They greet him kindly, and the king of the place receives him as one of that *utu.* After feasting and talking with the people, he begs the king that some of them may accompany him ashore to the *maie* 'game' or 'dance'. The king permits this, and those who are willing arise from the assembly, go to a sandpit a little distance apart, and doff all their clothes. Immediately their garments fall from them they are converted into porpoises.

All set out together for the village of Kuma, the caller leading them with dancing movements. When they are well on their way the caller leaves them and hurries back to his sleeping body. His eyes open, he awakes from sleep, and says to the people who await him: *"E tau, a roko raomi, nakoni katauraoi te*

maie" [All right, your friends are coming, go and get ready for the dance]. The whole village, both members and non-members of the *utu,* then go and deck themselves out with mats, garlands, and scented oils, exactly as if a dance were toward. The whole company then repairs to the beach.

While awaiting the porpoises, it is sternly forbidden to talk or even to think of food. The porpoises must be referred to as "our friends," and their visit is alluded to as a gathering to the "dance." If there is any mention of a killing, the porpoises will hear and turn away in fear.

The animals swim straight to the beach, the caller standing knee deep in the shoal water to welcome them. He goes through the gesture of the dance, and repeats the incantation of the *binekua,* and entreats his "brothers," the porpoises, to come and "dance" ashore.

When the fish are close in, the whole population descends into the sea. Each one chooses a porpoise and standing beside it, fondles and embraces it, and leads it ashore.

Whatever may be the truth of the caller's descent into Mone, there is absolutely not the shadow of a doubt that if you ask one of this *utu* to call the porpoises, the porpoises can be made to arrive that very day. Also it is borne out by hundreds of witnesses that, whatever may be the cause of their arrival, they swim into the shallow water in such a condition that a man may go down and clasp them in his arms without difficulty.

The magic connected with the *binekua* (as that concerning navigation) may be inherited by women as well as men. Kitina is the only man in his *utu* who has inherited the spells.

MAGIC FOR COCKFIGHTERS

If you want your cock to be a good fighter, hold the bird to your left breast in the crook of your left arm; then with your right hand stroke it gently and continuously as you repeat:

> Nan Tebu, Nan Tebu; Nan Temaku, Nan Temaku. Nako Nan Tebu, nako Nan Temaku. Nakomai te un, nakomai te tau, nakomai te mauri.
>
> Weakling, weakling; coward, coward. Go away weakling, go away coward. Come back fighting, come back on top. Come back to me alive and well. [3]

Say this three times, without any particular orientation. When finished, throw the bird down.

SUN MAGIC *(TE KANANGARAOI)*
TAKEUTA, *MARAKEI*

If an Islander wishes to be received with especial favour by his fellows, to be loved by the other sex, or to be treated with generosity by his kin, he performs the following magic:

Urioai, urakeai, neaneai, akoai!
B‘e rio maia akoau,
Ngai aio, ti boni ngai, Takeuta?
B‘e rio mai nanon win Ten Naene.
I batete mai aon angan Neienne. [4]
Umai, akoai.

Put me down, pick me up, take care of me as if I were a child, be good to me!
Whence shall kind words of welcome fall to greet me?
I who am lonely, I Takeuta.
May they fall from the lips of Ten Naene. [5]
I am coming with the warm rays of the sun.
Come out to meet me, come to greet me.

At the last words, cross your hands on your breast and rub yourself with oil which has already been spread on your palms. This is done facing east on any day of the month, just before sunrise.

SUN AND MOON MAGIC: TO BE POPULAR
TAKEUTA, AGED ABOUT 70, *MARAKEI*

The following is an alternative formula for the same purposes as the previous one:

Mauna matanikabi, e-e! Mauna matanikabi, a-u! Namataia Taburimai ma Auriaria; ba a nangi nako namatau, ba a nang rimoau nakea? Nakoia tabon rorou, I rimwiia, ke! I rimoaia, ke! I tekateka i taubuki ni bataia ma

tekatekau ma kakanangabou i aon te aba aio. Ia? Marakei! E-e, I ringa Tai! E-e, I babakoa Nama-kaina! E-e, te mauri naba ngai-o-o!

The edge of the reef is out of sight, e-e! The edge of the reef is out of sight, a-u! Tie the knots of Taburimai and Auriaria; for my knots are about to go, they are about to precede me, where? To the position of my generation, I follow them—ke! I precede them—ke! I sit upon the ridgepole of their houses with my fame over this land, Where? Marakei! E-e, I touch the Sun! E-e, I clasp the Moon! E-e, I am blessed, o-o!

The tying of knots in the second line refers to the threefold knotting of a young coconut pinnule held in the hands of the performer. A single knot was tied for each of the three repetitions of the formula.

The place for this ritual was on the ocean beach, on the eastern shore, clear of all trees. The orientation eastward; the position sitting. The time, the hour of sunrise; the day, when the moon was seen on the meridian at sunrise.

When the names of the sun and the moon were recited, the finger was pointed first at one, then at the other.

Takeuta was unable to tell me what bearing the opening allusion to the edge of the reef had upon the subject or object of the formula.

SUN MAGIC: A FISHERMAN'S INVOCATION TO THE SUN
NEI TAURE, AGED BETWEEN 50 AND 60, *MARAKEI*

If a fisherman has bad luck, he takes the hook with which he is fishing between both palms, presses the radial sides of his hands against his breast, and as he sits on the canoe he turns his face towards the sun (at any hour of daylight) and repeats the following:

Tai-e, Tai-o! I butiko, Ngai! Ko atai ngke
I kabubura, [6] Ngai!
Tai-e, Tai-o! I butiko, Ngai! Ko atai ngke
I waira, [7] Ngai!
Tai-e, Tai-o! I butiko, Ngai! Ko atai ngke

I beeua, [8] Ngai!
I mairierie [9] -o!

Sun-e, Sun-o! I beg you, I! You knew when
I failed to catch, I!
Sun-e, Sun-o! I beg you, I! You knew when
I was unlucky, I!
Sun-e, Sun-o! I beg you, I! You knew when
I was perplexed, I!
I was faint-hearted-o!

After three repetitions the fisherman resumes his fishing with the same hook.

MAGIC TO CAUSE AN ECLIPSE

The clan of Maerua was believed to have the power of causing eclipses of the sun and moon at will, by means of the following ritual. The eclipse-maker built a small thatched hut on the eastern shore of the island, and hung mats about it in such a way as to exclude all light from the interior. Towards moonrise or sunrise, as the case might be, he entered this hut and left outside a member of his clan to shout to him as soon as the edge of the luminary's disc appeared above the horizon.

As soon as he received the signal he began to mutter:

I ti bwerebwereia matan Tai (ke Namakaina) te iterana;
I ti bwerebwereia matan Tai ua itera; I ti bwerebwereia
matan Tai ten itera.

I only enclose it in a fence face of the Sun (or Moon) one
side; I only enclose it in a fence face of the Sun two sides;
I only enclose it in a fence face of the Sun three sides.

This simple formula was repeated thrice. There was no other ritual. After the third repetition, the performer immediately lay down and slept. During his sleep the eclipse was alleged to take place. He would bring it to an end by awakening and emerging from the hut into the open. [10]

NA KIMOA MAGIC TO PROCURE WOMEN

Take an *onibua* 'fallen coconut' and sprinkle the contents over your head, while reciting the following and looking in the direction of the woman you want:

> Ko rie ni katua ma ko rie ni karoko, ma ko rie ni kabaka ma ko rie ni kamate. Ko rio ni karangirang, O! e rango, a-a e a rangiro neienne, a-a e a rangi ni kanana aroa i marenan rangau ikai. Te ika n tangirio, te ika n tangirake, tangi nako aikai-o-o!

This is done three times. Then you throw away the nut and watch it come to rest. If the mouth is turned towards you it is a sign of luck; if turned away success is not yet.

A WOMAN'S SPELL TO PROCURE A PARTICULAR MAN

A woman who wished to procure the love of a particular man would invoke the spirit Na Kuau.

The fruit of the tree called *non (Morinda citrifolia)* was taken in the right hand at the point of dawn, and the following incantation was whispered:

> Na Kuau, Na Kuau, bu-u,
> Na Kuau, Na Kuau, ba-a,
> Ko a nako ngkoe anne Ten Naene.
> Ko anaia kanam aro ae marenan rangana,
> Marenan rangau Ten Naene,
> Matai-e, matau-o.
> Ko ira n tangitang, ko ira n tangitang,
> Ko ira ni keakea, ko ira ni keakea.
> Ko tang ngkai, ko rang ngkai;
> Ko a tang ao ko a rang,
> A ko a kaka, ko a uamarawa-o.
> Ko a kana tabun-io. Ko a mate-o.

The fruit is then worn against the body until noon, when the spell is repeated. It is again worn until sunset, and again removed for the incantation. After the first day the fruit is worn continually until it drops off, being rotten.

Woman wearing the traditional short skirt (riri-kororo). (Wilkes 1845, 5:51)

TE KATEBO N RARA: WOMEN'S SPELL TO PROCURE A CONSTANT LOVER

A woman who wants to procure a constant lover invokes the spirit Taokarawa in this chant.

For three days after menstruation the woman does not wash her body. On the fourth morning at point of dawn she picks a young frond from the opening leaf of the coconut. Entering the shallow water, she draws the frond backward and forward between her thighs to the following incantation:

I kere kangkang, I kere kangkang.
I kere boiarara, I kere boiarara.
Buti rio, buti rake.
Ko ria raon—baon—Taokarawa.
Ko itau rikaki, ngkoe anne Ten Naena.
Ko ki iai, ko ka iai, ko uringa baei.

She then bites the leaf along its whole length, twists it into a cord, and binds it on her right ankle, where it remains for three days.

Traditional married woman's dress when walking abroad, Beru. (Maude photo)

TE AONIKIE: WOMEN'S SPELL TO ASSURE A LOVER'S CONSTANCY

A spell for blessing the mat on which a woman is to receive her lover. The woman sits cross-legged and draws the mat over her knees. Holding and shaking it with both hands, she whispers:

Takina ni kie, ni kietibu, ni kierang.
Ko ti rangirang iai naba ngkoe anne Ten Naene.
Ko ti rangirang iai naba,
Ko ti rangirang iai naba,
Ko ti rangirang iai naba-o!

The lover arrives, and she makes him lie on his back with his head supported in the crook of her left arm. Looking down, as she sits, at the middle finger of her left hand, she jerks it back and forth with this accompaniment:

Te aita ma, te aita ma.
Te bonota ma, te bonota ma. Te ngurengure-e i manokau,
Te ngurengure-e i manokau.
Ko ti ngurengureai.
Rake riki, rake naba, ngkoe anne Ten Naene. E oti tai.

This also she says a second time but replaces *"e oti tai "* ("sunrise") with the words *"e tawanou tai"* ("noon"), and a third time finishing with *"e bungitai"* ("sunset").

Intercourse then takes place, during which the woman whispers to herself the following spell:

Karinnani kabangan,
Ko ta ringiring, ko ta rongorongo.
Iaia. Aia ngaia. Iaia. Ngaia ngaoua.

When intercourse is completed the woman must take care not to stir from her place, but must sleep as she lies. At the point of dawn she goes to bathe in the lagoon. Rhythmically splashing water with her right hand over her left arm she intones:

Tiribo neinei, tarabo neinei;
Titibo tariu e kangkang.
E rae mam kareiwe-e.
I raira aba, I rairi nanoia.
Aine n abana, ma ataeina,
Ma manena. Me aitua te tang ngkoa-o.
I toua te nei ae a maitorotoro.
Nim tang, nim reke.
Ten Naen-o tangirai riki rake, rake naba-o.

This is said twice over while washing the left arm, and a third time while washing the right arm. At the end of the third repetition she scoops a palmful of water in her left hand and with a circular sweep sprinkles it over her head.

The rites attending a happy union are then complete, and the constancy of her lover is assured for all time—or until the woman is tired of him.

TE KAIWA: TO TEST IF YOU ARE LOVED

If you want to know whether a girl loves you or not it is necessary to do the *kaiwa* or divination of Te Rakunene. You pick a pinnule of coconut leaf and tearing a strip about half an inch broad from the side, but not yet separating it from the base of the pinnule, you hold it between the finger and thumb of your right hand and, compressing them gently, draw them away from you along the length of the strip. Repeating this action again and again, you whisper the following words:

> Tera, ua, ten, a, nima, ono, iti, wan, rua; tuangai ngkoe Te Rakunene ke e tangai Neierei (name of girl); tuangai ke e ribai; tuangai ke e tangirai Neierei (name of girl); tuangai ao tuangai, ao tuangai.
>
> One, two, three, four, five, six, seven eight, nine, tell me Te Rakunene does that girl (name of girl) desire me; tell me does she hate me; tell me does that girl (name of girl) love me; tell me, and tell me and tell me.

Repeat this three times. There is no special time of the day or night for this; nor is there any particular orientation.

When this is done detach the strip from the base of the pinnule by tearing the end off straight.

Measure three fingers (index, middle, and ring) from one end of the strip and make a crease by folding. Lay the creased end of the strip across the palmar aspect of the same three fingers, so that the crease comes to the radial side of the index finger. Then take three turns of the rest of the strip round these fingers and tear the strip off at the point where it completes the third turn.

Now you must unwind the strip and split it into two tongues by tearing it down the middle as far as the crease.

Make a series of four knots in one of the tongues, with a fifth knot at the extreme end. Repeat for the second tongue. If the two end knots are level with one another, the girl does not love you; if one projects beyond the other, she does.

Finally you must repeat the whole process with another pinnule. But this time the girl loves you if the knots come level with each other; she does not love you if they do not.

TE KAIMAIRA: SPELL TO SEPARATE LOVERS

This spell was for use by a jealous or intriguing person to separate two lovers in order to procure the love of one for himself or herself.

At sunset the scheming man or woman goes to the beach or to a shoal on the reef and, having found a human excrement, stands before it facing either north or south, with back to the land. Passing the left foot over the excrement and touching the ground alternately to east and west of it with the toe, he or she mutters the following spell:

> Rakai-e, Rakai-o!
> Rakainaine Ten Naene, Nei Ioa.
> Ba I rakaia rio, ba I rakaia rake.
> E maira rio, e maira rake.
> E maira, e maira, e maira!

This rite is performed three times over for three days, and the result is then awaited.

SUN AND MOON MAGIC: TO BRING BACK A DISSATISFIED WIFE
TEN TOMI, *MARAKEI*

If your wife leaves you in anger and refuses to return in spite of your entreaties, you should invoke the Sun and the Moon to help you and to bring her back. I learnt the ritual from Ten Tomi, who was taught it by his mother Nei Kakaua on her death-bed in 1920; she was then aged about 70.

You fill a *binobino* ‘coconut shell container’ or an *onibua* ‘coconut fallen before maturity’ with fresh water and, holding it in the right hand, you sprinkle the water on your head with a clockwise sweep, at the same time intoning:

> Tai, Namakaina, riomai nakomai nakon natimi aio, Nei Koiu ma Nei Kamwenti ko na nako. Ko na rimwin te aran aine temanna teuana man tangaia. O neienne, katika baina, karikakia, katikia ma unna ma butona, kaoua, katanga, kaeaeai nanon au kainga ikai.

You perform this ceremony once at sunrise, facing the rising sun, once at noon, and once at sunset. At the end of each incantation you throw your *binobino* or *onibua* a short distance away from you; it should stop rolling with its aperture away from you (i.e., pointing east) in the morning. At noon it should point either north or south (i.e., neither towards you nor away from you), and you must look up at the sun.

At sunset you face the setting sun. Your coconut shell should now point towards you when thrown away. If the shell falls in the above positions it is a sign that you will be successful.

The striking difference between this ritual and the majority of Gilbertese incantations is that it is not muttered or intoned in a low voice, but chanted aloud. It has a well defined tune, similar to that of an ordinary *ruoia* chant. This is also a mark of the dancing charms, in which the Sun and the Moon are similarly addressed. The ceremony is carried out in public—or at least no special effort is made to hide it.

TE BINOBINO: TO REINFORCE THE EFFECT OF OTHER SPELLS

If a spell is long in taking effect, or if failure is feared, an incantation of great power called *te binobino* is used. It gives additional force to the good or evil influence that is said to emanate from the performer of magic and ensures the success of his spells. It is often used immediately after the incantation of a spell in order to press it home. *"Tanaran te tabunea be a ibe i aom."*

The rite takes place at the dark before dawn, on land, in any deep place such as an old *babai* pit. The performer sits facing the east where the sun will rise. He has three small coconut shells known as *binobino* filled with fresh water and graduated in size. These are placed on the ground at his right side or left, depending on whether he is right or left handed, in the order of their size and parallel with his thigh as he sits cross-legged. Bowing his head he takes the largest shell and slowly empties the water over his head and neck with a circular motion, rhythmically intoning:

Matana ra-e-e, matana ra-o-o;
Tana tanari tabunea-o.
Ba a tukai, ba a bono bonotai nako.
Me ti uki Toane ma Teriawane.

Ma ti-e buno buno
N na bita mwin au tabunea, mwina moana.
Ma e na aki tangitangirai Ten Naene,
Ma e na aki uringuringai Ten Naene,
Ma e na aki auauai Ten Naene.
Ma au mwini kiriri-kiriri
Ma au mwini kiriri-kiriri
Kamarannako
Kabate te nako.

He then throws away the empty shell and repeats the spell in the same manner with the second and third, throwing each away when empty. This is done three days successively.

PRAYER TO THE MOON

Old men and women would go at moonset, on the first day of the young moon, to the western beach, and address the moon in the following manner:

Namakaina-o! Namakaina-o! Tautaua rorou!

Namakaina-o! Namakaina-o! Ko na anganai au oiaki, teoiakina ma uaoiaki, tenoiaki, aoiaki, nimaoiaki, onoiaki, itioiaki, wanoiaki, ruaoiaki, tengaun e-e!

Namakaina-o! Namakaina-o! Ko na anganai au ririki, teririkina ma uarririki, ..., [etc.] ... tebubua e-e!

Namakaina-o! Namakaina-o! Ko na anganai au tannang, tetan-nangina ma uatannang, ..., [etc.] ... tenga e-e!

Moon-o! Moon-o! Hold back my age!

Moon-o! Moon-o! You shall give me my month, one month with two months, three months, four months, five months, six months, seven months, eight months, nine months, ten e-e!

Moon-o! Moon-o! You shall give me my years, one year with two years, ..., [etc.] ... one hundred e-e!

> Moon-o! Moon-o! You shall give me my age, one age with two ages, …, [etc.] … one thousand e-e!

While going down the beach to the edge of the sea, where this is recited, the old man [or woman] opens his arms with palms up towards the moon and does the movements of the *ruoia.* When he begins the chant he claps his hands at each repetition of "moon" and does *ruoia* movements to the rest. The prayer is done three times.

The Maneaba

SUCCESSION TO THE *BOTI MARAKEI*

The succession to the *boti* was in the vast majority of cases traced in the male line (i.e., through the father), but the *boti* of the mother or father's mother was sometimes allotted to several children (generally the juniors) of a numerous family. The mother's *boti* was considered a *tabo ni kamawa* 'a place to make room' if the father's *boti* in a particular family group seemed to be in danger of overcrowding.

An adopted child would nearly always transfer to the *boti* of his adopter. Supposing the adopter to be of the same *utu* as himself, but on the mother's side, a child would thus leave the paternal *boti.*

Or again, if the adoptor was of the paternal *utu,* but had himself by adoption or other circumstance changed his *boti* at an earlier date, the adopted child would leave the paternal *boti.* [1]

FUNCTIONS OF *BOTI* IN TABIANG-TYPE MANEABA

Karongoa n Uea

Te moan taeka [the first word]; *to motin taeka* [the decision]. When he went to the maneaba to an assembly, the head of this *boti* wore a *bunna ni kamaraia* made from *te kakoko.* None might contradict him. Before the council he made a *tabunea* called the *taematao* to clear the way *(kaitiaka i main)* for his words. The *tabunea* was done sitting, while rubbing the palms

together. When it was over the palms were thrown out towards the people with the words, *"Anaia, ba N na ongo"* ("Speak for I will hear"). He had the first share of the feast *(te moan tiba)* and the first thatch was placed over his *boti. "Iai Tai n te maneaba "* [the Sun is in the maneaba].

Karongoa Raereke

Te inai: the women of the village in general made these coconut mats, but the men of Karongoa Raereke brought them to the maneaba and put them on the floor with appropriate *tabunea.* The first *inai* were laid in a line down the west side of the central pillars, and the second down the east side. The rest followed in any order. The laying down began at the south. Karongoa Raereke brought *te kuo n aine* and *te ba ni kamaimai* for their *tabunea,* which was done with the object of preventing all dissension among those who sat on the *inai.* They were thatchers of the maneaba and coverers of the ridge-pole, but they supervised this work only, deputing the men of Nukumauea to climb on the rafters and do the work.

Nukumauea

When Nukumauea [2] climbed the ridge-pole to sew on the covering all people sat in absolute silence in their places. The work began at the northern end. If the thatching awl broke during the sewing, it was the sign of war or an arrival from the sea, such as stranded porpoises or strangers. If an awl broke at the north end, the event was a long way off *(e ingira Tabiang).* If the awl broke in the middle of the roof, the porpoises would come, or an *ikabuti* 'shoal of migratory fish'. If the awl lasted whole until the south end, the event would happen very soon. The covering was done at noon exactly, in order that the sun might look straight down on the work. The sun was the helper (*rao* 'friend' or 'companion') of the builder of the maneaba, and filled him with skill at his work. It was thus necessary for him to be near *(e makiki Tai ba kamaraia),* for the maneaba would not be *mauri* 'blessed' or 'healthy' if the sun was not his companion.

A babou

Ababou were the first dividers of the food and kept the first remnants. Also the "killers of the sun" (masters of eclipses).

Tabukaokao, Karumaetoa, and Tekirikiri

Tabukaokao were the lifters of the food, the receivers and distributors for the north end; Karumaetoa performed the same functions for the south end. Tekirikiri shared this function. Tabukaokao were also the messengers.

Tabiang

Tabiang had the second share in the feast: the head of the porpoise.

Tekua

Tekua had the tail of the porpoise.

Tebakabaka

Tebakabaka had the third share in the feast.

Maerua

Maerua were the restorers of the sun, and in the maneaba the coverers of the ridge-pole.

Kaburara

Kaburara were *te boti ni kaiwa* [the boti of diviners]. If war was imminent these people divined the lucky day.

Taurawaka

These people had the same functions as Karumaetoa and Tewiwi.

Keaki

Keaki had the right of first entry into the maneaba.

DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD IN TABIANG-TYPE MANEABA
MARAKEI

Every man sits in his *boti* with his contribution before him (Figure 10).

Tabukaokao is the divider of the feast. He stands and makes remarks, either complimentary or otherwise, about the food brought by the various *boti.* He picks up the contribution of each householder and, choosing an old man belonging to a *boti* distant from him (so that voices may be audible to all), he says, "This is the *babai* of So-and so." The old man thus addressed passes appropriate comments, and the next man's contribution is then considered. Young men of the Tabukaokao *boti* carry the contributions individually to their spokesman in the middle of the maneaba, where the food is piled.

The order in which food is taken from the various *boti* is as follows: 1, Karongoa; 2, Tabiang; 3, Te Bakabaka; 4, Taunnamo; 5, Tabuariki te Bakoa; 6, Tekua; 7, Tabokaokao; 8, Nukumauea. [3]

NORTHERN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF MANEABA ON BERU
MAKIN

When Tetake came from Samoa and was killed, it was sought by Nei Tituabine whose bird it was. She it was who planted the coconut over the dead bird's body. Nei Baraerae grew from the coconut and procreated with the maggot of Tetake. The *utu* of Koura grew from the union: Koura, Koura-ura, Koura-iti, Koura-n-uea, Koura-rang, Koura-mai.

The *utu* migrated to Beru and lived as kings on the north end. When Tanentoa came to their maneaba they leapt into the rafters and *tingiting* from overhead. This means that they behaved in an overbearing manner to the other chiefs of Beru. So Tanentoa burned their maneaba and destroyed them with it.

There was now no maneaba on Beru. A new one was built: the original *maneaba ni Beru* used to the present day, according to Makin traditions by the spirits Bonriki and Bontabo from Matang of Samoa under the direction of Towatu of Matang.

But Beru tradition tells us that it was Teweia and Teweianti, the sons of Tematawarebwe who did the work. [4]

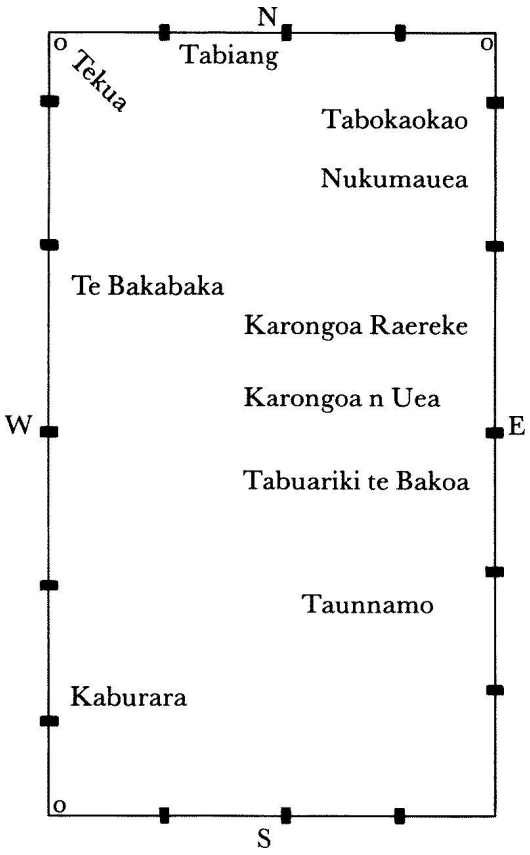


Figure 10. Positions of participating boti in a Tabiang-type maneaba food distribution ceremony

SANCTITY OF THE MANEABA

The maneaba was an object of the greatest reverence when finally completed. No one was allowed to kick or chip or strike with a stick the curb of coral stones that stood around it; nor might a man strike either with his hand or stick one of the studs of the roof. If he did so he would be thrashed and trampled on by any present. No offence could be taken by his family, even if he were killed, because it was said that in any case he was *maraia* after his offence and would probably die of some sickness in a short time. *"Iai Tai i nanon te maneaba"* [There is Sun in the maneaba]. [5]

MANEABA DIVISIONS
BUTARITARI AND MAKIN

The divisions of the ancient maneaba of Butaritari and Makin were only four, as in Figure 11.

This was the maneaba of Koura and his people, who are reputed to have been a large-bodied, red-skinned folk. They came first to Makin from Samoa, and the account of their arrival is given in the Tarawa and Beru stories of the bird *te take* 'the red-tailed tropic-bird', which was their totem. This folk had only one deity, the goddess Tituabine, whose creature at sea was the stingray, on land the ladybird, and in the air the red-tailed tropic-bird.

The coming of the Koura people from Samoa seems to be a totally different race movement from the coming of the Karongoa people to the more southerly islands of the Gilbert Group; this will seem evident from a study of their maneaba.

There are stated to have been only four divisions in the ancient maneaba because there were only four *utu* among the Koura people. It is said vaguely that a person of one division never married within his own group, but was obliged to marry into one of the other three divisions. It is not known whether a child succeeded to a place in his mother's or father's division.

There were certain personal ornaments or badges by which the members of the different divisions were recognized:

TABOKORORO wore a star-shaped badge of oyster-shell and necklaces of porpoise or whales-teeth. Their special weapon in war was the *unun,* a lance with shark's teeth (double edged).

TE INAKI N UEA wore a necklet of pierced shell called *te uba,* and another called *te tangoniwae.* Their weapon was the *taumangaria,* a double-edged shark's tooth lance with a curved guard.

MANKEIA wore the red shell called *te nta* at the throat, and another ornament called *karenawa.* Their weapon was a lance called *te rairai* with a double point.

TE ANIKABAI wore a necklet of plaited hair, rather like a necktie, called *te taobo.* Their weapon was the smooth lance.

The general weapon used by the four divisions was the *koromatang* 'throwing club'.

A traditional story is that all the canoe crests of the Gilbert Group originated in this maneaba. The deity of the Koura people, Nei Tituabine, invented them at Makin and gave them

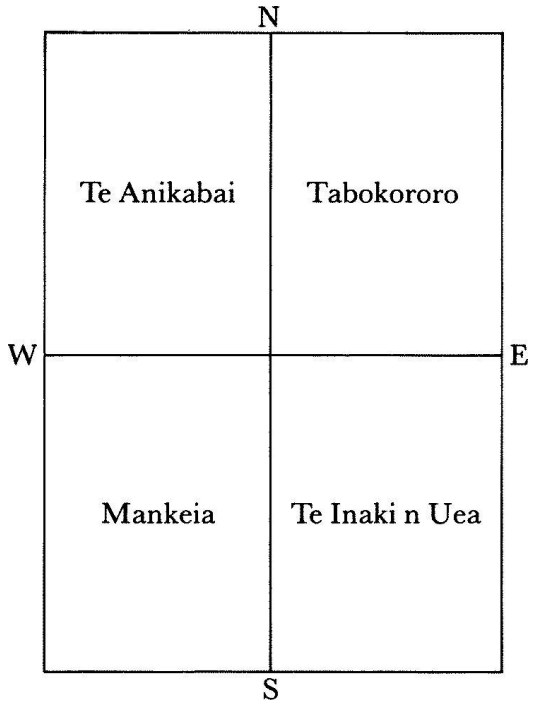


Figure 11. Divisions of the ancient maneaba of Butaritari and Makin

to the four divisions. The original crests given to each division are not known. These crests were made general when the Koura people left Butaritari and Makin to "return with their goddess Tituabine to Samoa." On their voyage they stopped at Beru, where they colonized the northern end of the island. They built their maneaba there, but were afterwards all killed by Tanentoa of Beru and their crests divided up among Tanentoa's people, who until then had no divisions to their maneaba and no crests. [6]

COVERING THE RIDGE-POLE *MARAKEI*

This is done at midday with the sun directly overhead, and as the ridge-capper works with his thatching awl he chants:

Ba N nangi tiba—I ti ewaria ririka ni maneabaia

Tai ma Namakaina. E toki tera? E toki te mate.
E toki tera? E toki te aoraki. E toki te anangan
taetae mai aon te aba aio. Ia? Marakei. I aki bua
ao I aki taro. Te mauri naba, maneabau-o-o-o!

I am about to pierce the topmost purlin of the maneaba of the Sun
and Moon. What ceases? Death ceases. What ceases? Sickness
ceases. The talk of forebodings ceases on this island. Where?
Marakei. I have not gone astray and I have not stumbled,
May my maneaba also be safe and sound-o-o-o!

The capper climbs up to his place on the ridge-pole at the north end, from the east side, and he climbs down at the south end on the west side.

COVERING THE RIDGE-POLE BY THE PEOPLE OF MAERUA

The people of the Maerua clan claimed equally with those of Karongoa n Uea and Tabukaokao the privileged duty of supervising the covering of the maneaba's ridge-pole. This was the last work in the construction of the maneaba, save only the shaving of the eaves and the burning of the ends of thatch cut off in giving them a straight edge.

The people of Maerua, unlike the Karongoa Raereke folk, did not consider it necessary to wait until the sun was precisely at noon before beginning the ceremonial "covering." Any hour between sunrise and noon was permissible with them, their opinion being that the sun was *matoa* 'strong' at this period of the day. But the ceremonial must be finished before the sun passed the zenith, because he became *marau* 'weak' as soon as he entered the western half of the heavens, and his preserving influence on the maneaba and the workers began to wane in strength.

The Maerua workers mounted the roof of the maneaba from the north-east corner of the edifice, taking with them their tools and the woven coconut leaves to be used for the ridge-capping. The first man to mount proceeded along the ridge-pole to the southern end; the rest followed in single file and took up their stations at intervals along the ridge from south to north. When

all were in place, the senior male of the clan climbed up to the apex of the northern gable and straddled the ridge with his face to southward: he carried three new thatching awls in his right hand, made of pandanus wood which had grown on the eastern side of the island. He instructed the most northerly of his workers to lay a piece of capping in position before him.

All the people gathered then in the maneaba below, sitting in their *boti*. Absolute silence was preserved. Aloft on the ridge-pole the master-capper raised one of his thatching awls in his right hand and, stabbing the piece of ridge-capping before him, first on the east side of the ridge and then on the west side in slow alternation, recited the following words:

> Ba N nangi tiba—I ti ewaria taubukin umaia Taburimai ma Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki ma Nei Tituabine. Ririkan umau tera? Te karau. Ririkan umau te buaka; ririkan umau karawa. Ba rokirokin umaia Tai ma Namakaina te ririka-e-e, te ririka-o-o.
>
> For I am about to—I only pierce the ridge-pole of their house Taburimai and Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki and Nei Tituabine. The covering of my house (from) what? The rain. The covering of my house (from) storm; the covering of my house (from) heaven. Even the screen of their house Sun and Moon the covering-e-e, the covering-o-o.

He uttered these words three times in a loud voice at the northern end; then proceeding to the middle he repeated the ceremony there, this time facing east; and last of all he went through the ritual a third time at the south end, facing north.

If the whole ceremony could be completed without the breaking of one of the ceremonial thatching awls, it was a sign of prosperity and peace. The master-capper would call aloud to the assembled people below, *"Te mauri ma te raoi mane-o. Kam na kara i ani maneabami aio"* ("Safety and peace, men. You shall grow old beneath this your maneaba").

But often an awl would break off short as the master-capper stabbed against the ridge-pole, and the part of the ridge against which it snapped was important in the prognostication. If it broke at the north end, some important event in the distant future might be expected; this might be sickness, famine or war, or it might be something exceedingly fortunate such as the stranding of a shoal of porpoises. If the awl broke in the middle

of the roof, a calamity might be expected in the near future. In the south end the snapping of the awl predicted a trouble that would be overcome. These rules of divination apply to a maneaba built at the north end of an island; they were exactly reversed if the maneaba was at the south end, or southward of the maneaba of the hereditary enemies of the builders.

When the ceremonial was done, the master-capper descended from the roof by way of the south-west corner of the building, while the workers proceeded with the sewing of the ridge-capping. When this was done, the master-capper again mounted to the ridge carrying with him four unhusked coconuts. The "face" of one of these he struck off at the northern end of the ridge, and sprinkling the water over the ridge-capping there he muttered the following words:

> Bubunai aba, bubunai aba. Bubunai irou, bubunai irou, bubunai irou. Ko kangikang kanam rara. Matu, matu, anti ni kaaoraki; matu, matu, anti ni kamamate; matu, matu, anti ni kamibuaka; matu, matu. Baraki te unene, b'e a bungi te aba.
>
> Smoke of fire, smoke of fire. Smoke of fire with me, smoke of fire with me, smoke of fire with me. Thou eatest thy food the blood. Sleep, sleep, spirits of sickness; sleep, sleep, spirits of killing; sleep, sleep, spirits of evil dreaming; sleep, sleep. Overturned is the foundation, for the land is ready.

There seems little doubt from the wording of this spell that the coconut represents the head of a man and the water his blood, which is sprinkled upon the capping as its food, in the nature of a sacrificial offering to bring good fortune. The practice of human sacrifice and especially the sacrifice of heads at the building of houses and canoes, in the betel region of Melanesia, is exceedingly common.

When the first sprinkling was done, the empty nut was rolled down the northern gable of the maneaba to the ground. A second nut was cut and emptied over the ridge a little north of the middle and rolled down the eastern side of the roof; a third was similarly treated a little south of the middle, but was rolled west; and the fourth was rolled south from the south end. If the mouths of all these nuts as they lay on the ground pointed away

from the edifice it was a sign of peace and good fortune, but if the majority were turned towards the maneaba trouble was to be expected.

Last of all, the edges of the eaves of the maneaba were trimmed by the people of Maerua. All uneven ends of thatch hanging down were cut off to the straight-edge of a stretched cord. The north end was first trimmed and the trimmings collected in the middle of the northern side, a little clear of the eaves. Similarly, the south, east, and west sides were treated. When all four heaps of trimmings were gathered in the respective positions, the senior male of Maerua set light to them in the order of their cutting, and their combustion was carefully watched. If all the fires died together, neither good nor evil might be expected: if the south or the west fire remained alight while the others died, it was a sign of either war or heavy weather; but if either the north or east fire remained alight after all others, peace and plenty were prognosticated.

CEREMONY AT THE ERECTION OF THE *BOUA TAI*

The erection of the middle monolith or stud *(boua),* in the eastern side of the maneaba, which is called Tai (Sun), was attended by a special ceremony in which the senior male member of the clan of Karongoa n Uea officiated. The stone was stood upright in its hole. All the people working on the maneaba left their occupations and formed a complete circle around it. The officiator then with his hands scooped the loose earth into the hole around the base of the stone, and when this was done he seated himself up against the base, facing east, with the stone in front of him. Patting the earth with the open palms of his hands, he intoned:

> I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kaneneana; I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kaiboana; I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kamakana. I kanenea, I kaibo; I kanenea, I karoko; Ikane-nea, I kamaka.
>
> I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of his vigour; I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of his separation from the horizon; I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of

> his blazing. I make vigorous, I make separate from the horizon; I make vigorous, I make to arrive; I make vigorous, I cause to blaze.

This was repeated three times. The workers then broke their circle and returned to their various occupations.

The ritual performed is evidently closely connected with ideas in the story of Bue's visit to the sun, in which six rocks are mentioned as the "stopping places" of the sun in his course through the heavens: three are below the horizon, and three are above. The incantation reproduced here refers only to three rocks: the first "the rock of his vigour," which is the rock on which he acquires his first strength for the day's journey; the second, "the rock of his separation from the horizon;" and the third "the rock of his blazing." [7]

COVERING THE RIDGE-POLE
KAKEIA OF BETIO, AGED ABOUT 60, *TARAWA*

When the interior of the maneaba was complete and the roof finished, the ridge-pole was covered, as on Marakei. The master thatcher mounted on the roof and sat on the ridge-pole facing east, in the middle first. The time must be high noon. Stabbing the ridge-pole with his awl [as described for Marakei], he repeated the following:

> N nangi tiba—I ti ewaria taubukini maneabaia Tai, Namakaina. Angangaia tan-tituo ma tan-omaneaba ba te ukeukenanti. E tei ona ba te nari, e baraki ba te ba i nukan te aba. Ia? Betio: ni karoko roro, ma uaroro, tenroro, aroro, nimaroro, onororo, itiroro, wanroro, ruaroro; e toki, e aki bua maneabau. I aki bua, I aki maraia mai nanoni bain te anti-n-uea, Nei Tituabine; te kai mai karawa, ba aia kai Nawai ma Aorao, te I-Aoniman, te kai taukarawa; te rika ni kamauri. Karaoia, karaoia, nanon Tabuariki; karaoia, karaoia, nanon Auriaria; karaoia, karaoia, nanon Taburimai. A raoi; e aki bua maneabaia.
>
> I am just about to—I only stab it the ridge-pole of their maneaba Sun, Moon. The givers of gifts and the enclosers of the maneaba the whirlwind. It stands its enclosure even the smooth stone, it is protected even the rock in the midst of the land. Where? Betio: until a gener-

ation, with two generations, three generations, four generations, five generations, six generations, seven generations, eight generations, nine generations; it is ended, it is not lost my maneaba. I am not lost, I am not accursed from within the hand of the ruler of spirits, Nei Tituabine; the instrument from heaven, even their instrument Nawai and Aorao, the inhabitants of Aoniman, the instrument ruling heaven; the thatching awl of making safe. Do it, do it, in (the name of) Tabuariki; do it, do it, in (the name of) Auriaria; do it, do it, in (the name of) Taburimai. They are at peace; it is not lost their maneaba.

NOTES ON THE TABIANG-STYLE MANEABA

1. The first corner-stone was Tabakea at the north-east corner.
   Second, Tituabine at the south-east.
   Third, Teangebo at the north-west.
   Fourth, Teangang at the south-west.
   Fifth, Tai in the middle of the east side.
   Sixth, Namakaina in the middle of the west side.

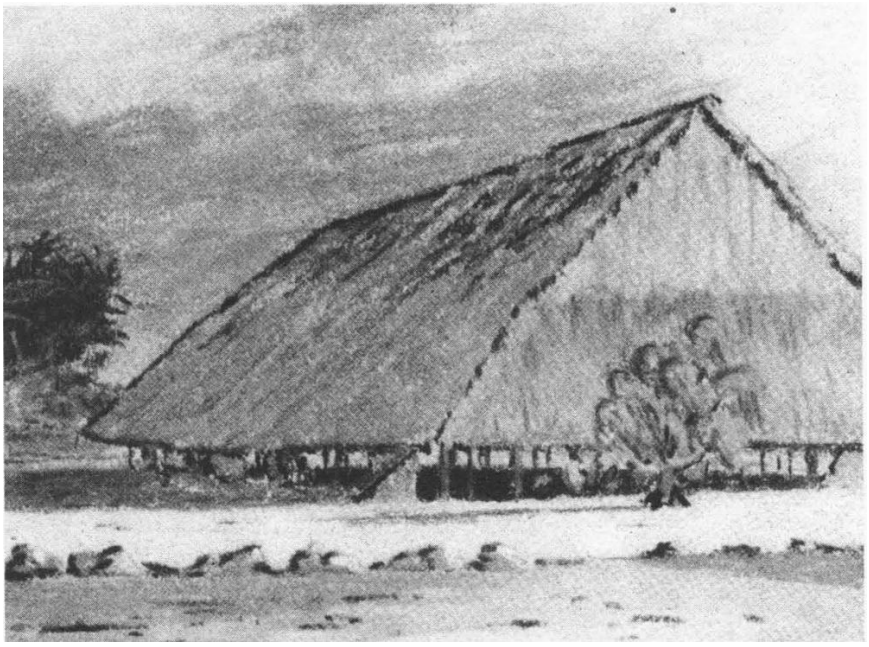
2. The *tatanga* [roof-plate] at the west is called Bakoa.
   That at the east is called Tabakea.
   That at the north is called Tabiang.
   That at the south is called Taboiaki.

3. The *inai* 'coconut-leaf mats' were hung first at Tabiang.
   Second, at Karongoa.
   Third, at Bakabaka.
   After that, in any order.

4. First in importance in the maneaba was Karongoa.
   Second in importance was Tabiang.

5. Keaki and Karongoa Raereke are the thatchers.
   Bakoa are the blowers of the horn.
   Karongoa Raereke lay the *inai.*

6. Types [or styles and heights] of maneaba:
   Tabiang—narrow [*maki*].
   Maungatabu—broader.
   Tokamamao—broader still.



The Maungatabu maneaba at Manriki on Nikunau. (Lenwood 1917, 110)

Teriamatan—broader still.
Tetabakea—broader still.
Tabontebike—square *(tabanin).*

THE MAUNGATABU-STYLE MANEABA

The Maungatabu maneaba is called by the Karongoa group “the enclosure of the Sun and Moon,” and the sun is believed to take vengeance upon any who violate or offend its precincts. Supporting the roof-plate in the middle of the eastern side of this building is a stud named Sun, against which the people of Karongoa n Uea (Karongoa of kings) have their hereditary sitting place. Opposite the Sun, in the middle of the western side, is the stud named Moon, against which the clans of Ababou and Maerua are seated. Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua have the Sun-totem in common, and they share the monopoly of the Sun-Moon pandanus fructification ritual.

All ceremonial and all speech in the Maungatabu maneaba are subservient to the will of Karongoa n Uea, as enunciated by the senior male of the group. This individual is called, at Marakei, when taking part in a ceremonial "the Sun in the maneaba," an epithet more usually found applied to the whole Karongoa group, collectively considered. It is, however, a matter of general belief that the sun "is over" the individual head of the Karongoa spokesman, and will pierce the navel of any who contradicts him, questions his judgment, expresses the least doubt about his rendering of any tradition, or attempts to usurp any of his privileges within the sacred building.

The spokesman wears on his head, while officiating in the maneaba, a fillet of coconut leaf called *bunan Tai* 'the fillet of the Sun'. He sits alone, slightly in advance of his fellow clansmen, upon occasions of a ceremonious nature, and opens proceedings by muttering the magico-religious formula called *te taematao* whose object is "to clear the path of his words" and to protect him from interruption or contradiction. The formula is recited with the head bowed, while the hands are slowly rubbed together, palm on palm; after three repetitions, the performer throws his hands forward, palms up, elbows against body, and raising his head exclaims, *"E oti Tai"* ("the Sun appears"), after which the debate or ceremonial proceeds.

The clan of Karongoa Raereke is the companion and acolyte (*taboni bai* 'finger' or 'servant') of Karongoa n Uea in the Maungatabu building: its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups and, in the northern Gilberts, its elder "lifts the word from the mouth of Karongoa n Uea," that is, publishes to the assembly the whispered oration or judgment of the Karongoa n Uea spokesman. The privilege of Karongoa Raereke is to take a share of the first portion of any feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa n Uea. Its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the coconut-leaf mats *(inai)* with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension in the sacred edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the sun is approaching its zenith; among the material used is a *kuonaine*—a cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil has been boiled—which vessel is considered highly important because it formed the magic boat of the sun-child named Bue, the ancestor of the Ababou clan, when he visited his burning sire in the east.

Ababou and Maerua

The Ababou and Maerua groups claim both the sun and the moon as their totems, and are seated about the stud called Moon in the middle of the western side of the maneaba. The ceremonial function of Ababou is to separate the first portion of Karongoa n Uea from any food brought to the maneaba for the purpose of a feast, and to hand it over to Karongoa Raereke, for conveyance to the sacred clan.

Outside the maneaba, Ababou and Maerua claim the powers of making and unmaking eclipses of the sun and the moon, or rain-making, and of raising or stilling the wind. These powers are said to be inherited from the traditional clan-ancestor, a hero named Bue, who, by a virgin mother, was a child of the Sun, together with his sister Nei Teraiti. Bue's chief exploit, according to the tradition, was to visit his father in the east, and catch him in a noose for the purpose of obtaining knowlege from him. It was then that the Sun gave him the magic rituals now used by the Ababou and Maerua groups. A whole series of solar, lunar, and stellar myths are now grouped about the name of Bue.

But the Sun's greatest gift to Bue was the craft of building maneaba: "The maneaba of kings, which is called Te Namakaina (Moon); and that called Te Tabanin (The Foursquare); and the long maneaba called Maungatabu; and the maneaba whereof the breadth is greater than the length, called Te Ketoa." [8] It is by virtue of this gift that the clans of Ababou and Maerua lay claim to what is their pre-eminent function, namely, that of being, on behalf of Karongoa n Uea, the master architects of the Maungatabu building. Their duties are to find a suitable site for the edifice, to lay out its ground plan, to order the position of all its timbers, and with their own hands to cap its ridge with a covering of plaited leaf or matting. Their acolytes in these works are the Eel-totem group of Nukumauea and the Crab-totem group of Tabukaokao. In all their building rituals, the names of Sun and Moon are prominent; they believe that the Sun dwells in the Maungatabu maneaba because he was the originator of that style of building, and that he will take vengeance upon any person who either offends the edifice or attempts to usurp the functions or imitate the rituals of the builder clans.

Maungatabu building rituals

The first timbers of the maneaba to be cut and dressed are the *tatanga* 'roof-plates'. The heavy work is done by the acolyte Eel and Crab totem-groups, but before the dressing of the rough logs begins they are heaped in a pile for ritual treatment by the master architect of Ababou. Before noon, on a day when the sun and the moon are seen together in the sky, this person mounts the pile and, facing east, taps one of the logs lightly with an adze, intoning:

> Ba N nangi tiba koroia, tatangani maneabaia Tai, Namakaina; ba maneabaia Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki, Nei Tituabine. E toki tera? E toki te bakarere. E toki tera? E toki te kainanti. E toki tera? E toki te maraia. E toki tera? E toki te tiringaki. E toki-i-i-i, e toki, e toki-e-e-e, e toki. Te mauri ao te raoi.
>
> For the time has come for me to cut the roof-plate of the maneaba of the Sun and the Moon; even the maneaba of Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki, Nei Tituabine. What ceases? Violence ceases. What ceases? Evil magic ceases. What ceases? Being under a curse ceases. What ceases? Being smitten ceases. It ceases-i-i-i, it ceases, it ceases-e-e-e, it ceases. Prosperity and peace.

The cutting of the rafters and other scantlings is preluded by exactly the same ritual and formula, the word *tatanga* being replaced in the chant by the appropriate term. [9]

Marriage

BETROTHAL

The bethrothed of a Gilbertese man, when taken to live in his parents' house, is considered to be under the mother's protection and supervision, not the father's.

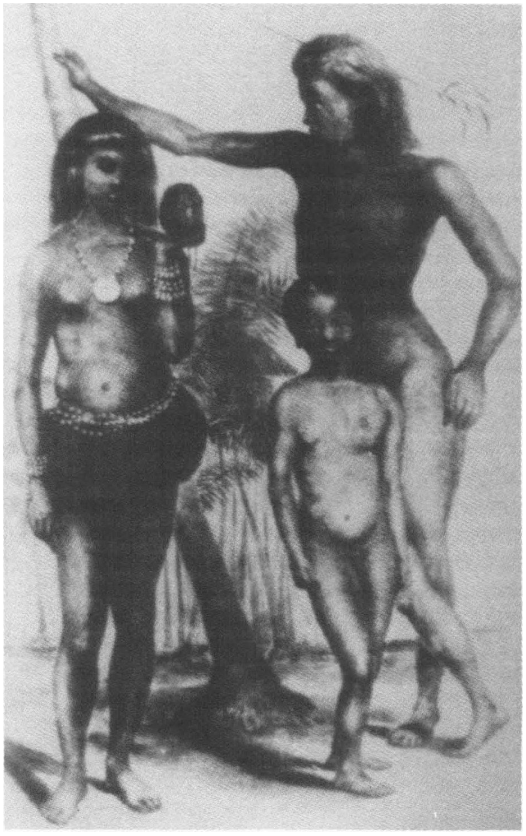
This is a custom that would naturally follow upon a dual organization of society with matrilineal descent. The mother would be of the same moiety as the son, while the father would be of that of the daughter-in-law. On Pentecost Island where the dual system is still in force, a future wife is always in the charge of her future mother-in-law.

Marriage by rape in the southern Gilberts again points to the former existence of a dual organization.

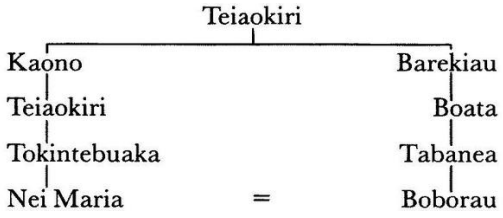
CONSANGUINITY
MARAKEI

When a marriage between persons descended from a common ancestor was proposed on Marakei, a more or less ceremonial visit was made by the old men of the *utu* to the *bangota* where the ancestral skulls of the respective branches concerned were buried. The skulls of the ancestors through whom descent was traced by each branch from the common source were then counted, and on the return to the house it was decided whether enough generations intervened to render the proposed union permissible.

The following marriage of third cousins caused some heartburning among the old men of Marakei:



A nuclear family, Nikunau, 1851. (Maude 1981, 89, from Webster Collection, Auckland)



In spite of the widespread maxim that “the fourth generation of descendants from a common ancestor go free” for purposes of marriage, the general opinion among the old people of Marakei was that the parties to this union were too closely related for

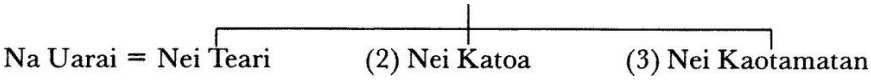
decency, being descended through males into the same clan, and that in pre-government days they would never have been allowed to marry.

INTERFAMILY EXCHANGE MARRIAGE

It was a common practice throughout the Gilberts for a man and his sister to marry a woman and her brother. Such marriages, where conditions of age permitted, were celebrated on the same day. In fact, the marriage of a girl might be delayed until her brother was old enough to take part in such a marriage. I have never heard, however, of a case in which the marriage of a boy was postponed for the sake of his sister.

MARRIAGE TO SISTERS
BUTARITARI

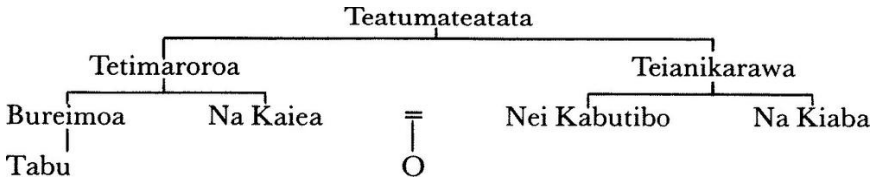
On Butaritari it was a common practice for three or four sisters to marry a single man:



When a man thus married three sisters, one of them was called *moa ni kie,* or *rao ni kie,* and the rest *eiriki.* [1] But their children had exactly the same status. Thus if an *eiriki* had the first child, it had the privileges of the eldest, even though the *rao ni kie* procreated later on.

MARRIAGE OF CHIEFS
BUTARITARI

On Butaritari, among high chiefs [*uea*] and chiefs [*toka*] the marriage of first cousins and others classified as brothers or sisters was encouraged. Such a marriage helped to keep the chief's family and family lands consolidated.



Such marriages had no connection in the Gilbertese mind with the cross-cousin idea. In fact, the above example shows a marriage between the children of two brothers. Thus incest on Butaritari was not necessarily the copulation of classificatory brothers and sisters. Incest was the connection of one in a position of child with one in a position of parent, that is, out of one's own generation.

As a rule only the class of chiefs indulged in cousin marriage. All others adhered to the principle of *e ewe te karoro* [the fourth generation goes free].

CARRYING OF BRIDE
ABAIANG AND TARAWA

On these islands the bride was carried by the bridegroom's relations from her father's house to that in which the ceremony of marriage was to take place. She must not set foot on the ground between her old home and the new one.

DEATH OF *MOA NI KIE*

If a man's *moa ni kie* died and he chose one of her sisters as her successor, the new *moa ni kie* would often take the name of the deceased first wife. Ten Tenaobure of Marakei married a girl named Nei Taonari; she died, and her sister called Nei Rakera, who was also married to the man, took the name of Taonari.

Medical Practices

DIAGNOSIS

If there is a burning of the skin over a fracture, it is a pain caused by the flesh and the blood.

If there is an itching and stabbing pain, it is caused by the flesh and the veins.

If the pain is a *maraki ae waewaerake* [lit. “pain going upwards,” i.e., one that runs up the leg], it is caused by the flesh and the bones.

REMEDIES

Sore eyes **(wai mata)**

The juice of the ripe berries of the *mao* [*Scaevola taccada*] was squeezed into the inflamed eye.

Sore ears **(wai taninga)**

To half a shell full of coconut oil were added the tips of five saplings of the *ango (Premna taitensis),* chopped up finely. The mixture was heated and stirred on the fire. While still hot it was poured into the ear.

Cystitis and urethritis

Acute inflammation of the bladder and urethra were often caused by drinking coconut toddy in which cantharides flies had been drowned.

One method of treating this was to mix sea-water, coconut water, and coconut oil in equal parts, and drink copiously of the mixture.

Another method was to drink large quantities of *kamaimai* [coconut molasses] and water. And a third treatment was to give the patient to drink a mixture in equal parts of fresh water and coconut cream (i.e., cream squeezed from the grated flesh of a nut).

Sore gums* (wira); *infants cutting teeth

The most usual treatment was to chew up pieces of coconut root until soft, wring out the juice, and rub it with a finger into the sore gums. The juice is certainly a good astringent.

Also used in this was the juice of a chewed *nimoimoi* 'coconut in the first stage'. [1]

A third remedy was the bark of the *kanawa (Cordia subcordata)* tree. The bark was taken from a young sapling, scraped into shreds with a shell, and the juice wrung out of it. This juice was applied with the finger.

***Poisoned foot through treading on a* nou [Scorpionide: *a poisonous fish*]**

A clearly modern remedy is to mix coconut oil and kerosene, and heat on a fire. Powder a little pumice stone, wrap it in the fibrous "cloth" of the coconut crest and immerse this in the hot liquid. Let it boil. Take the soaked pumice powder out in its wrapping and while it is still very hot squeeze its liquid on the part wounded by the fish's spine. Then hold the hot "sponge" against the wound. When the skin has been thoroughly softened, take the gall bag of a *nou* and squeeze its contents over the wound.

***Inflammatory condition of buttocks and genitals among infant girls,* (ba)**

Take the tips of hanging pandanus roots that have not yet reached the ground and mash them up into a paste with berries of the *bero* [*Ficus tinc toria*]. Apply this as an ointment.

Boils and sprains

For boils and sprains the heated leaves of the *non (Morinda citrifolia)* and the *kiebu (Crinum asiaticum)* were applied. The *non* leaves were especially used to bring the boil to a head. Another styptic was the *ren* [*Messerschmi dia argentea*] leaf.

Poisoned sores

The *non* [*Morinda citrifolia*] leaf, heated, was used for septic sores.

Splinters or thorns

If a splinter or thorn were deeply embedded in the sole of the foot, the foot was first incised and the incision plastered with pulp made by pounding up very young coconuts just formed from the blossom.

BONE-SETTING
TEM MAERE, SON OF EREATA AND GRANDSON OF TERURUAI, *MARAKEI*

The art of bone-setting as practised by the Gilbertese is entirely free from magic or ritual of any kind. It has no ceremonial aspect whatever, being an art or science pure and simple; the work itself is the important matter, and upon the deftness of the bone-setter's fingers alone depends the success of his endeavours. I have no details at all about the local origin or history of bone-setting; there is no myth known to me in which the art of *karikaki* is mentioned. Maere of Marakei, who gave me the information here recorded, knew nothing beyond the fact that his father and his father's father had handed their knowledge down to him.

From the absence of myth, magic, ritual, or superstition connected with *karikaki* I am inclined to infer that it is of foreign origin, and of very recent importation. It is almost impossible to conceive that a practice which had been for many generations known to the Gilbertese should be entirely unaccompanied by magico-religious formulae of any sort. But it is easy to conceive that if the art were introduced by some foreigner, say from the Ellice Islands or the Marshalls, himself imperfectly acquainted with the language, it would take its place in the local culture

unaccompanied by incantations, because such, if any, would be in a foreign language. Even thus implanted in Gilbertese soil, I cannot think that many generations would elapse before some sort of magical formulae became attached to it. I therefore think that the importation must have come at a quite recent period.

The following bones were recognized by Gilbertese bone-setters:

1. Forearm, two bones, called *kinati* because they run parallel. Upperarm, one bone. One *ria* 'artery';
2. Leg, two bones below knee; one thigh bone; one artery;
3. Shoulder blades, two; between them the part of the spine called *nei ni bakoa;* two arteries *(rin aku);*
4. Nine ribs on left and ten on right side *(rini kaokao);*
5. Twelve sections of spine *(rini bakoa);*
6. Coccyx, one *(rini ki);*
7. Collar bones, two *(rin roroa).*

The splints used for broken bones are made of coconut slivers and the strong outer skin of the *babai* stalk. There are six lengths of coconut wood: (1) tip of the right middle finger to crease of hand and wrist; (2) tip to middle crease of hand; (3) tip to base of middle finger; (4) tip to middle crease; (5) first phalanx; (6) finger-nail.
The breadth is an inch and a quarter.

The bandage of *babai* bark is cut to the same length as the splints.

Size 1, there are always six lashings to fasten the splints, all separate; if any other number is used the bone will be painful and will not set. *Size 2,* four lashings; *Size 3,* three; *Size 4,* two; *Sizes 5 and 6,* the *babai* skin was not used, and the splint was wrapped in a bandage made of *babai* stalk material and bound against injury.

Before applying the splint the "blood" was always driven towards the fracture by massaging from each side towards the injury. Hot water was used for fomentations. For injuries to the trunk, a bed was made of the spathes of coconut blossom, stripped and flattened.

For a single, simple fracture *(ri banin),* three massages a day: just after sunrise; at noon; just before sunset.

The splints are bound on for three days. Some fractures like splints, others do not. If a fracture is uncomfortable in splints you hold the fractured place and press gently on the part which is painful. The splints are intended primarily not so much to support the fractured bone as to relieve pain.

At your first visit to a man with a fractured bone, you massage his stomach.

The following is the doctor's timetable for complicated fractures *(ri mai),* regulated by the sun:

Sunrise (about 6 A.M.): Massage of *te iriko* 'flesh', *te rara* 'blood', *te ia* 'veins';
About 9 A.M.: Gently rubbing along limb from each side in towards fracture *(te torotorobi);*
Noon: *Te tai ni kaokiri* 'the time to put back the bone'. All the manipulation of the fractured bone is made at this hour;
About 3 P.M.: *Te torotorobi* again;
Sunset (about 6 P.M.): Massage of flesh, blood, and veins;
About 9 P.M.: Ditto;
Midnight: Manipulation of bone;
About 3 A.M.: Massage of flesh, blood, and veins.

This treatment lasts for three days. After the third day the doctor visits only at sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight, working on the bone only at noon and midnight, and massaging at the other hours.

On rainy days no massage is performed. In case of pain on these days, the doctor exerts gentle pressure on the injured part to reduce the pain.

For long-standing disability caused by an old imperfectly mended fracture the patient was taken to the sea and massaged there; gentle pressure was applied sometimes for many weeks to straighten the limb. The patient was taught to walk in the sea and gradually on shore. When this had been accomplished the treatment was continued ashore.

If the patient has had no motion for three days since the injury, he or she is given a copious drink of boiled coconut toddy, very hot with water. If constipation continues the patient is given more molasses with hot water and cream of coconut flesh.

FEVERISHNESS *(TE KABUOKI TE MARIRI)*

All sweet-smelling trees are considered good by Gilbertese practitioners; any part of a tree may be used for fever-medicine if it produces a sweet-smelling flower or leaf. The *uri (Guettarda*

speciosa) and the *ango (Premna taitensis)* are chiefly favoured, while the *keangi ni Makin (Microso rium scolopendrium)* and *kaura (Sida fallax)* are used when procurable.

The bark, roots, flowers, and tips of young branches are gathered: a handful of each. These are chopped up finely and boiled in a giant clam-shell with well-water—one coconut-shell full for each handful of ingredients. When it is cold, the patient both drinks it and washes his body with it.

GONORRHOEA: A POST-CONTACT TREATMENT

Ingredients: the bark stripped from suckers of the *uri (Guettarda speciosa)* and *mao (Scaevola taccada).*

The inner surface of the bark is scraped into a mixture in equal parts of sea-water and well-water, and boiled until a sodden pulp is left. This is squeezed of its liquid into a coconut shell, mixed with about a table-spoonful of stockholm tar, and then drunk by the patient.

The stockholm tar was probably added at the suggestion of some European sailor, possibly a whaler of the nineteenth century. In the 1920s it is still commonly believed in the forecastles of island ships that gonorrhoea may be cured with this medicine.

CURES FOR *RIKINIBIROTO* 'DISTENDED STOMACH', I.E., DYSPEPSIA
NUI

Choose a *kiaou* creeper *(Triumf etta procumbens)* that grows a short distance from the house; it must have three branches. Then go back to your house and draw a deep breath: Run without breathing to the *kiaou* and pluck one of its branches. Hold this in the right hand, and still without breathing run thrice around the plant. You may then draw breath again and walk slowly back to the house with the branch you have picked.

Pick a nut in the *moi* stage before it has fallen from the tree. [2] Grate the flesh and mix the gratings with the curd-like substances contained in the *moi.* Put the mixture into a *kumete* 'wooden bowl' and pound it up with the stalk, leaves, flowers, and seeds of the *kiaou* plant, until it makes a soft mash. Turn the mash out upon a piece of the fibrous material that grows at

the base of the coconut leaf; wrap it up in this and wring it dry of juice into a coconut shell. Boil the juice in its shell, and let the patient drink it as hot as possible.

FOR EXPECTANT MOTHERS

This draught is given to an expectant mother who fears that a fall or a blow has injured her child, or who thinks that it is moving too much in the uterus.

Ingredients: one nut in the *moi* stage, and two in the *ura* stage (with brown flesh). [3] The flesh of these is grated and mixed. The gratings are wrung in the fibrous coconut "cloth," and the cream from them allowed to drip into a wooden bowl.

The cream is then heated over a fire in a vessel of coconut shell until a frothy scum rises, which is skimmed and thrown away. After a little more heating, the coconut oil begins to appear. The vessel is taken from the fire at this point, and the contents mixed with an equal quantity of water.

The mixture is heated again until it is just too hot to bear on the finger. After it has been let cool off a little, it is given to the patient to drink. Immediately afterwards, she must drink the water of as many coconuts as she can manage, and then eat their flesh.

The next day, the physician goes and gathers from the bush one handful of each of the following ingredients: the tips of young *kanawa* shoots *(Cordia subcordata);* flowers of the *bingibing (Thespesia populnea);* tips of mangrove suckers; and trailers of the *kiaou (Triumf etta procumbens).* These ingredients are first pounded together, and then their juice is squeezed into the water of five drinking nuts. This mixture is given to the patient, to be finished at a single sitting.

The treatment continues, the draughts alternating, for as long as the symptoms demand.

Names

EXCHANGE OF NAMES

It was, and still is, a common practice for two people of the same age and sex to exchange names as a sign of affection. Analagous to such an exchange was the practice of taking the name of a person superior in social rank as a mark of respect. A concrete example of this custom came directly under my notice in 1923, on the island of Marakei.

Talking one day on the veranda of my house with half a score children of the island, I passed around for inspection the photograph of one of my own small daughters, aged 8. I noticed that one girl, of about 14, considered the picture for a long while with an expression of rapt contemplation. At last she handed it back to me with the simple remark, *"Ai bia arau aran te tei aei "* ("Would that my name was the name of this child").

Some days later a deputation of elderly and old men waited on me with copious presents of native food. They informed me that they were elders of both the father's and mother's side of the *utu* of the young girl, whose name was Teabuaka. They brought their presents of food with a formal request that their daughter might be allowed to assume the name of my child. On consent being given, they appointed the next Sunday afternoon as the day for the ceremonial assumption of the name, and invited me to attend, with every servant, orderly, and clerk employed in my service.

On Sunday therefore I repaired at the appointed hour to the house of the girl's parents; my servants, etc., had preceded me to the reunion. In a small clearing to the west of the house I saw the guests gathered. My own people were seated in a

half-circle to southward of an enormous pile of native food of every description. The *utu* of the girl completed the circle on the northern side.

When I arrived, the child, led by her adoptive grandmother, approached me and, taking me by the right hand, begged me to be seated. Had my daughter been present, it would have been she to whom this welcome would have been addressed.

Presents of mats and native produce were then brought and laid at my feet, to be conveyed to my child. At this moment also, it was incumbent upon me (on behalf of my daughter) to make return gifts to the girl who was taking her name. I noticed too that in accordance with native custom all my own servants (who may be regarded as representing the *utu* of my daughter) had brought a gift of some sort, which was now presented.

The exchange of courtesies being over, the ceremonial *katenua ara* 'making-to-fit name' began. The senior old man of the girl's father's *utu* approached the pile of food in the midst of the circle. Choosing at random a piece of the food, he held it aloft on the palm of his right hand, and facing north called aloud: *"Te bun anti meang"* ("The breed of spirits of the north"). On behalf of the spirits of the north, the whole concourse answered "O!"

Turning south, the officiator then cried again: *"Te bun anti maiaki"* ("The breed of spirits of the south"). And again the people answered "O!" In like manner were then addressed the eastern spirits, the western spirits, and the spirits of *Karawa* 'the sky' and *Mone* 'the underworld', the assembly answering "O!" to each successive call.

All the spirits being now called, the officiator addressed them as follows: "Here is your food! Do not come here. We are casting off the name Teabuaka and we are taking the name of Joan. Here is your food. Do not come here. Health and peace!"

This address being finished, the old man gave the food to a boy of the *utu,* who took it and laid it on the ground outside the circle. There it remained untouched, the food of the spirits, a propitiatory offering to keep them from bringing evil chance within the circle and thus upon the new name.

After this ceremony the food was distributed among the guests, and the meal became informal. From that moment the girl concerned was called by her new name of Joan. [1]

USE OF *TIKI* AS NAMES

In making an adopted child or grandchild his *ingoa* 'namesake' a Gilbertese very often did not give away his real name, but what was called *tikina,* its affinity or extension. [2] A single name might have many such affinities, which were obtained by playing variations upon its vowel sounds as a rule, but sometimes upon its consonants. A simple example of *tiki* is Timea, which is the affinity of the original name Temea; in like manner Tokintekai becomes Tekatekai; and Tekabu becomes Tikabu. In other cases the *tiki* was arrived at by adding a syllable, as by changing Tekai into Tekairo, or by duplicating a syllable, as by making Beia into Bebia.

This practice of giving the namesake a slight variation of the adoptor's name is said to be intended to avoid confusion of reference, and it thus seems a very sensible institution.

Sometimes a Gilbertese wished to confer his name on several persons, in which case he would have to find two, three, or even more *tiki.* Under such circumstances the affinities discovered seem to a European ear to have departed sometimes very far from the original. For example, during his lifetime an old man called Nauoko of Tarawa used no fewer than five variations of his name. Starting from the original, in order of discovery, they were as follows: Nauoko, Teuoki, Teaboka, Uakeia, Uakeanga, and Uare. Even the first of these, closest in sound to the original, seems to our ear rather far-fetched, while the last three sound not in the least like the real name. But to the Gilbertese, I am assured, the first four at least have preserved pretty well the tonal qualities of the original, especially as they preserve the *k* sound. The last, Uare, it is explained, is a secondary extension, through the intermediate forms Uakeia and Uakeanga, and is intended to be reminiscent of these two variants rather than the original.

There was no rule for the guidance of those who wished to find their name-variants. The sounds that appealed to the ears of an individual as suggestive of a particular name were those selected. It was generally the actual owner of the name who invented the *tiki,* but the choice might also be made by an intimate relation or friend. Sometimes the variant seems to have been the result of pure accident. For example, it was the adoptive granddaughter of Nauoko who furnished the first *tiki* of his name, by persistently calling him Teuoki when she was a very small child. As a matter of sentiment he actually took the name of Teuoki for several years after this, but later on reverted

to the original Nauoko, and gave the variant to the little girl, who is now a middle-aged woman and still bears the name of Nei Teuoki, being considered the namesake of her *tibu.*

It is interesting to show what Nauoko did with the other *tiki* of his name:

Teaboka, the second variant, he gave to his household cat; and when this pet died he assigned the name to a dog, which is still living;

Uakeia, together with his real name of Nauoko, he gave away to the great-grandson of his father's sister (i.e., his own grandson in a classificatory sense), whom he adopted as his *tibu;*

Uakeanga he kept for himself, as a term of endearment to be used by those especially intimate with him. This variant and its use thus correspond precisely with our own practice of using diminutives (e.g., Bill for William) in a familiar way;

Uare he gave away as a sign of pity and affection to a lad who was mentally deficient. This boy was not a relation but was always kindly treated by Nauoko and conceived a dog-like affection for him; though never adopted he practically lived in Nauoko's household and fed from his lands. The variant Uare represents the cretinous lad's attempt to pronounce the affectionate term Uakeanga.

Relationships

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

There is no Gilbertese word that expresses the idea of *family* in its narrower sense of *household.* The fundamental word is *utu* (old Gilbertese *baronga*), which includes the blood relations, on both male and female sides, of any man or woman. Thus, any son belongs to both his father's and his mother's *utu,* but his father does not belong to his mother's *utu,* nor his mother to his father's. Terms of relationship, except in one or two special cases, are only given by courtesy to those outside the *utu.*

Blood relations are known as *te bu,* which may be translated as "the breed." Courtesy relations are known as *te koraki* 'the circle'.

1. Father *(Tama)*
Real father (in the Southern Gilberts also called *karo,* which word in the Northern Gilberts is collective and means "parents").

All those blood relations whom the real father and mother would call brothers.

By courtesy, the father's sister's husband; mother's sister's husband; husband's fathers; wife's fathers.

2. Mother *(Tina)*
Real mother; mother's sisters; father's sisters.

By courtesy, the mother's brother's wives; father's brother's wives; wife's mothers; husband's mothers.

The special terms to indicate the real father and mother are *oin tama* and *oin tina.* The prefixed word *oi* means "the trunk of the tree." Parents' brothers and sisters are called, when clearness is necessary, *ai tama* and *ai tina.* A rarely used word for *ai tina* is *auma.*

3. Child
(a) *Nati*
Begotten son or daughter; sons or daughters of all those blood relatives whom a husband and wife would call brother or sister.

By courtesy, begotten son's wife; begotten daughter's husband.

The eldest child is called *te karimoa;* the middle child *te karinuka;* and the youngest *te bina.* These terms are merely descriptive, and not terms of relationship. There are no words denoting the relationship of elder and younger brothers and sisters.

(b) *Tinaba*
The *tinaba* of a man is his son's or his brother's son's wife. [1] The relationship is sexual. The *tinaba* calls his or her partner in the relationship by the ordinary title *tama* or *tina,* as the case may be.

4. Brother-brother or sister-sister *(Tari)* and Brother-sister or sister-brother *(Mane)*
Begotten children of father and mother; begotten children of father's and mother's uterine brothers and sisters.

Grandchildren of grandparents' uterine brothers and sisters on both sides; great-grandchildren correspondingly, and so on as far as the line can be traced.

Husbands of two sisters, and wives of two brothers, are called brothers and sisters by courtesy (i.e., they are not considered to belong to the same *utu*).

I have seen brotherhood established between two Gilbertese hailing from different islands, on the strength of a common ancestry so old that it was no longer possible to say whether the so-called brothers were in the same generation removed from the ancestor quoted. Nevertheless, there is a distinction in the Gilbertese mind between *te utu ae kan* 'the blood kin which is near', and *te utu ae raroa* 'the blood kin which is distant'. The near kin is included within the first three generations of descent from a common ancestor; its members may not intermarry. The fourth generation, for purposes of marriage theoretically "goes

free." But not until collaterals stand in the fifth generation of removal from the common ancestor do they call one another distant kinsmen.

5. Father's sister *(Tina)* (see 2 above).

6. Father's sister's husband *(Tama)* (see 1 above).

7. Father's sister's child *(Tari* or *Mane)* (see 4 above).
To distinguish between uterine and other classes of brother and sister the more distant are sometimes called *ai tari* or *ai mane.*

8. Mother's brother *(Tama)* (see 1 above).

9. Mother's brother's wife *(Tina)* (see 2 above).

10. Mother's brother's child *(Tari* or *Mane)* (see 4 above). When exactitude is desired, called *ai tari* or *ai mane* (see 7 above).

11. Sister's son *(Nati)* (see 3 above). When exactitude is desired, called *ai nati.*

12. Brother's son *(Nati)* (see 3 and 11 above).

13. Grandfather or grandmother *(Tibu)*
This term is applied to all grandparents, on the father's and mother's side, and to those whom they would call brother and sister. To denote gender the words *te mane* 'the man', or *te aine* 'the woman', are added, thus: *tibuna te mane* 'his grandfather'. The term *tibu* is reciprocal between grandparent and grandchild.

Adoptive grandparents are called by the same name; but the adopter is usually a member of the *utu,* to whom the title of *tibu* would in any case be given by the adopted.

Other possible meanings of *tibu* are: "ancestor to the *n*th degree," though the title of *bakatibu* 'ancestor' more clearly expresses this; "descendant to the *n*th degree."

The term is sometimes applied collectively to a whole branch of an *utu* to denote its seniority. Thus, *tibura te manga aei,* "this branch is our grandparent," which is to say "this branch of the *utu* is senior to ours."

14. Grandchild *(Tibu)* (see 13 above).

15. Father-in-law *(Tama)* and Mother-in-law *(Tina)* (see 1 and 2 above). The parents of a man and his wife call one another *butika.*

16. Son-in-law or daughter-in-law *(Nati)* (see 3 above).

17. Husband *(Bu, Kainaba, Rao)*
In the northern Gilberts *bu* is the term used. It is never without the possessive pronoun, which is suffixed. Thus: *buna* 'her husband'; *bum* 'your husband'. The word *bu* also means kin, but does not then take the possessive pronoun as a suffix. Thus: *ana bu* 'her kin'; *am bu* 'your kin'. In the southern Gilberts the term for husband or husband's sister is *kainaba.*

The word *rao* is sometimes heard, but I think that it is only used in its everyday sense of "companion."

18. Wife *(Bu, Rao ni kie, Kainaba)*
The term *rao ni kie* means "companion of the sleeping mat."

19. Wife's brother *(Butika)*

20. Wife's sister (*Tauanikai, Eiriki, Nganibu*—Banaba)
The wife's sister owed the duty of concubitancy to the husband, even where he elected to give her away in marriage to another.

21. Husband's brother *(Eiriki)*

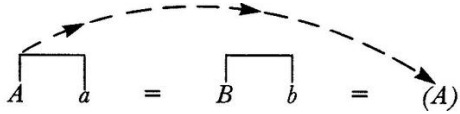
22. Husband's sister (*Kainaba, Kainuma*—Banaba) (see 17 above).

BUTIKA

The term *butika* is used to describe the reciprocal relationship between two distinct sets of people:

1. the husband and the brothers of a woman;
2. the fathers-in-law of a married couple.

The application of the same term to these two groups of persons becomes logical if it be considered as a remnant of the dual system of social organization with matrilineal descent.



Here *a,* a woman of one moiety, marries *B,* a man of the other moiety. Her brother, *A,* and her husband, *B,* then stand to each other in the reciprocal relationship of *butika*.

The reciprocity so different as the husband and the brother of a woman strikes one. It would not have been so surprising, under different circumstances, to see these two people referring to each other by distinct and separate terms. But under the dual organization of marriage, reduced to its simplest terms as in the diagram, *A,* the brother of *B*'s wife, naturally at marriage becomes the husband of *B*'s sister. Hence the relationship between *A* and *B* through *A*'s sister is exactly balanced by their relationship through *B*'s sister. Thus the reciprocity in terms of relationship.

In a matrilineal community it is obvious that the children of *a* and *B* will have to find their husbands and wives among the children of *b* and *A. A* and *B* already stand in the relation of *butika* to each other, and they do not lose that relationship on the marriage of their children. It is therefore in accordance with the conditions of the dual system with matrilineal descent, which I suppose to have existed, that fathers-in-law as well as a woman's husband and brother refer to each other as *butika,* because under that system it was possible that the same group of persons might unite in themselves all these functions.

ANIMOSITY BETWEEN *BUTIKA*

It is a recognized fact among the Gilbertese that when a man and a woman marry their families are at once at variance. This is expressed in the proverb, *E aki toki te kakaiun ma te iteran aine* ("Causes of anger with the woman's side never cease"). The people themselves have no idea why this animosity should exist between the respective *utu.* They simply say, "It is so. We are surprised, but it has always been so."

The unfriendly feeling seems to begin as soon as a young couple is betrothed. It does not show itself in deeds or words; it is rather a deep-seated convention, which by force of ancestral custom the Islanders feel themselves obliged to obey.

"You must not be rude to your *butika* (i.e., wife's brother or sister's husband), but you must not be very friendly with him," is another saying which expresses this evasive but very deep-seated feeling.

In old times the aversion to relations-in-law was very much more pronounced than it is now; one old man told me that it was caused by the constant desire of the wife's family to prey on the possessions of the husband. I verified this opinion on several islands, but although it certainly exists in the minds of many old men, none was able to give me an actual illustration of how a woman's people could "prey upon" the husband's lands.

The accusation is obviously an inherited catchword, and the conventional aversion a matter of long-established custom. There seems to be little doubt that it had its origin at a period when there was some cause of enmity between the class which we may call the husband-class and that which may be named the wife-class.

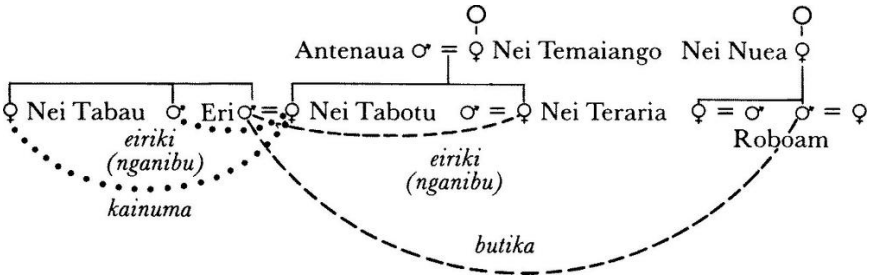
Such classes could only exist at a time of invasion, when the conquerors landed on the islands without women. They would be obliged to seek wives among the local people and the aversion between the two groups would not fail to colour the attitude towards marriage. It is a memory of this aversion which has, I conceive, caused the conventional hatred of the present day.

RELATIONSHIP
BUTARITARI

The mother's brother and the father's sister were the objects of much greater reverence than the father and mother. An order from one of these relations was considered absolute, whereas the father or mother could be disobeyed without great insult. There was, however, no rule by which a man's sister's child or a woman's brother's child should inherit possessions.

In all ceremonial connected with a man, the mother and her sisters and brothers were the chief participants. This lends support to the supposition, based on an examination of the *tinaba* relationship, that a dual system of social organization with matrilineal descent was once practised in the Gilbert Islands.

RELATIONSHIP
BANABA



The duty of the *kainuma* 'husband's sister' was to "be jealous for her brother." She watched over the conduct of her brother's wife and was considered especially to have the duty of preventing sexual relations between her *kainuma* and her unmarried brothers.

RELATIVES
PONGA OF NANOMANGA, *ELLICE ISLANDS*

No conversation that was not essential was allowed to take place between brother and sister (classificatory), *ma* and *tuatina.*

If a man heard someone else entering into a casual conversation with his sister, his sister's son *(tuatina)* or his wife's brother *(ma),* he must listen only so far as to satisfy himself that it was not sexual or loose talk. If he considered it suggestive it was his duty to stop it; if it was harmless he must either go away or turn his attention to other things.

If a visitor made loose jokes with a man's wife, the husband would not prevent him, but join in.

If a man met his sister, sister's child, or wife's brother on the path, it was the duty of both parties to turn aside and avoid one another.

However, relatives calling one another *tuangane* (brother-sister), *ma,* or *tuatina* had strong obligations of kindness to each other. This was especially marked in the *tuatina* relationship. If a man's sister's child made a request to him (which was generally conveyed by his wife from her *ma*) he must not refuse; on

the other hand, if he conveyed an order to his sister's child it must be implicitly obeyed. "I honour my *tuatina* more than my father."

FUNCTIONS OF RELATIVES
PINE OF NANUMEA, *ELLICE ISLANDS*

Father's sister and brother and mother's sister and brother were called *Tuatina,* which was a reciprocal term.

In the marriage of a son or daughter it was the father's sister who prepared the food and supervised the ceremony.

There was a strict avoidance between the mother's and the father's brother and the sister's or brother's child. No conversation took place except that which was absolutely necessary. If the sister's or brother's son asked the father's or the mother's brother for his property it could not be refused. On the other hand the duty of obedience from junior to senior relative was absolute. "I should obey my father's or mother's brother more than my father."

Except for urgent matters there was avoidance between male relatives who called each other *ma.* The wife (or sister) was approached to convey messages between them. "You treat your *ma* the same as your *tuatina*."

There was avoidance between *tuangane,* not being own brother and sister.

Husbands and wives of *tuatina* were called by courtesy "father" and "mother."

Children were always adopted by the father's cousins, not by his own brothers or sisters. The wife's relatives had no right of adoption.

Land went to sons from mother and father. Daughters were given only one piece if there were sons; but if there were no sons the daughter might inherit everything. The daughter would have prior claim over sister's or brother's sons.

A man was allowed two or three wives, but they had to be drawn from different families. He avoided marriage with the sister of his wife.

Social and Political Organization

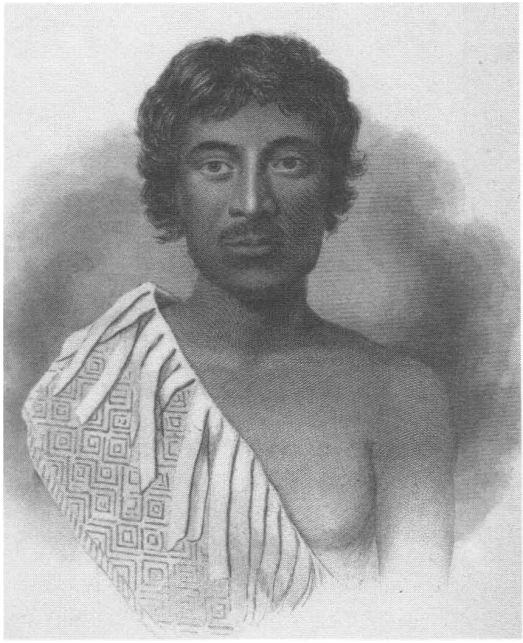
POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Political structure in the Gilbert Group was sharply divided. In the southern islands there were democracies, with elected chiefs for purposes of war; in the north there were aristocracies founded on conquest. But such aristocracies may be again divided into two classes: those that submitted to a single overlord, or high chief, which may be called feudal systems; and those that submitted to no overlord or high chief, which we may call democratic aristocracies.

It was among the pure democracies and the feudal populations that government was most highly developed. In the former, councils of the elders known for their wisdom held the reins and punished offenders. Under high chiefs all obeyed a single voice. But among the democratic aristocracies there was no general cohesion in times of peace. Each clan, with its slaves, owed obedience to its own chief, with his councillors drawn from the clan. Every chief was equal, and a separate entity.

The divisions of society under the three systems were as follows:

1. Under pure democracies there were neither chiefs nor slaves: all were known as *inaomata* 'free men'. [1]
2. Under limited aristocracies there were:
   toka 'chiefs';
   inaomata 'landed proprietors'; and
   toro (or *kaunga*) 'slaves'.
3. Under feudal systems there were:
   uea 'high chief';
   banuea 'blood relations of the high chief';



A landed proprietor (inaomata), Tabiteuea, 1841. (Wilkes 1845, 5:79)

toka ‘subsidiary chiefs’;
inaomata ‘landed proprietors’; and
toro (or *kaunga*) ‘slaves’.

Character of democratic government

If there were no conflicting interests on an island the entire population was subject to a single council of Old Men. It is not to be supposed that this was a highly organized body, nor that its meetings were regular or periodical.

If a crisis arose or a public danger needed discussion, the council would drift together and consider it. Meetings and decisions were secret. The council dealt with varied matters—war, amusements, morality. If a man was addicted to violence the council would try his case in private conclave, but the accused would hear nothing of the matter. If he was found to be an undesirable character the Old Men’s word would go forth to secret agents. These would seize the offender by night, bind him to a

An Unimane, the head of a boti, taken on Beru about 1931. (Maude photo)

log, and float him from the ocean reef out to sea. Or he would be put in a canoe with a few nuts and a sail and told to find another home for himself.

Purely domestic matters were left to family councils. Another less drastic form of punishment was exclusion for fixed periods of time on the ocean side, away from the village. Only the offender's mother was allowed to bring him food: he must not leave his prison. His wife must not accompany him.

Usually there were two or three different factions on an island, in which case each faction would have its own council of elders. In case of war the council elected a general. The council was called *manenriri* 'the old *riri*', this being the usual dress given to a virgin before puberty. It signifies absolute inviolability and suggests the honour in which such councils were held. If someone disappeared overnight no one dared to ask where he had gone.

Private violence within a faction was especially a matter for the council. As it tended to disrupt the faction, it was held in great detestation and almost always punished by death.

If there was a quarrel, a fight was arranged—a sort of jousting. [2] Death or killing was not the object of such fights; they were more of the nature of sporting matters. It was considered disgracefully clumsy to kill the opponent, whereas it was a sign of skill to wound him so that he would live and carry the marks. When angry blood was spent the council would stop the fight and the quarrel was thus settled. There were very few real wars on democratic islands; and for several centuries, conquest and slavery were abolished.

Character of aristocratic government

Under high chiefs the system was precisely feudal. All land was held at will and by favour of the high chiefs, who commanded absolute obedience from the blood royal, the chiefs, and their underlings. He had the power to make or unmake all laws. It was necessary to enter his presence in a stooping attitude, with face always towards him. Old men of royal and chiefly rank aided him in council, and although he might override them he would not do so in small matters. Conclaves were secret. The high chief's executioners would carry out his sentences at night.

But the high chief in council would as a rule not interfere with private matters unless he felt himself offended thereby. A chief in his own family would hold power of life and death over slaves and members. His authority was limited but seldom questioned by the high chief. His duties were to pay certain tributes of food, to lend slaves as workmen, and to do feoff-service to the high chief.

The class of *inaomata,* or landed proprietor, corresponded to our own middle class. It consisted of slaves rewarded for good services, and of the poor relatives of chiefly families. Members of it might intermarry with chiefs according to their circumstances.

The slaves had theoretically no rights. They were things and were considered less valuable than canoes or land. However, by good work they might obtain land of their own, and their children might marry into better families. Their position was therefore not irremediable. Slaves were originally those whose lands had been taken in war, or the survivors of the beaten side. A conquered man whose sister belonged to a conqueror by marriage might come out of the disaster rather well. Theoretically

he was a slave, but the favour of his married sister might obtain for him several pieces of land. If he pleased the high chief thereafter he might rise to chiefly rank.

Services by which a slave might acquire land were: good cultivation, canoe building, curing the sick by magic, or fighting.

High chiefs and chiefs might have many wives. The high chief decided the fitting limit for the chiefs, according to the possessions of each. The middle classes were limited to two wives each at the most. A slave might take only one.

The political development of the island influenced the manner of living on the land. Under the democracies there were few villages. Landowners lived on their own land scattered about the district of the faction to which they belonged. There was a central maneaba (or council and dance house) for their faction district.

Under high chiefs there was a royal village complete with the central maneaba of the island. This village included the king's dwellings and his wives' houses, the dwellings of members of the royal blood, and the slave quarters.

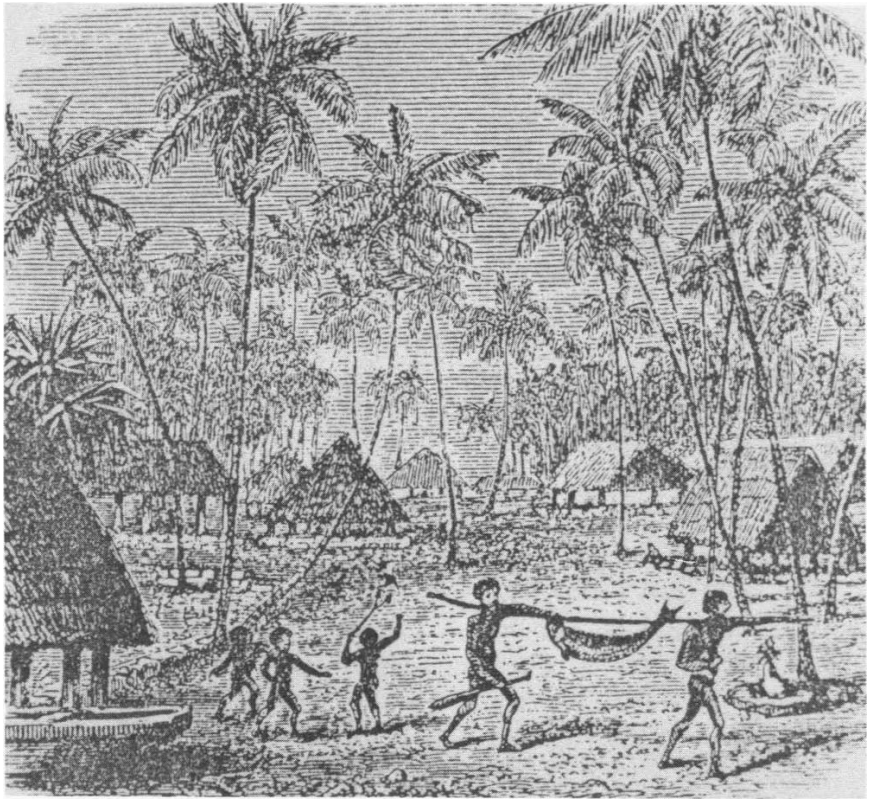
Under divided chiefs there were clan villages.

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OVER LAND OF THE VARIOUS SOCIAL GROUPS ON BUTARITARI

Te uea *'the high chief'*

The high chief was, in theory at least, the overlord of all lands on the island. His status gave him the right to demand as tribute the produce of any land. As need on occasion arose, he would send his messenger out to carry his orders to those in possession of the land: this messenger, if of the slave class, would probably remain on the land in question, both to help the workers in their task and to supervise the carrying out of the order. More usually, this duty of *katangi bai* was performed by a member of the chiefly class, who would pass the *uea*'s word on to the workers, and probably have one of his own servants supervise the task.

The *uea* could limit his own rights over the whole island, by giving away the high chiefship in respect of different lands or districts. It was perfectly understood that the people on the lands in respect of which he seceded his rights owed no further obligation to him; they owed the land tribute to the chief, who received such authority from the *uea.*



A kainga ‘clan hamlet situated on its ancestral land’, 1865. (Angas 1866, 390)

It was to a member of the *uea*’s own *utu* alone that such status of high chiefship was ceded. The privilege must have been sparingly granted at all times, for at present [i.e., c. 1922], after generations of high chiefs on Butaritari, the *uea* preserves his rights over 886 out of 1093 pieces of land.

Te toka *‘the chief’*

High chiefship was an accident of war. A dynasty of high chiefs was established only by force. It followed that the various family groups, who succeeded by force of arms in establishing such a dynasty, must receive some sort of reward for their services. The reward they did receive was the chiefship over blocks of land which varied in size according to the services rendered.

A modern village on Makin, with its siting, alignment, and size and style of housing as prescribed by the government, about 1931. (Maude photo)

The chief-right of a *toka* over the land allotted to him was exactly the same in character as the high chief-right of the *uea* over all Butaritari: he exacted dues from the workers on the land, and there appears to have been no limit set to his power of extortion except the premier right of the high chief to the fruits of all land. Having seen that the demands of the high chief were satisfied, a *toka* could take what he liked from his own holdings.

The *toka* might fight among themselves, undisturbed by the *uea,* for their various holdings. The chief-rights might thus pass from hand to hand, according to the fortunes of war, in quick succession. It might happen that a chief had two separate holdings: one at the north end of the island, and one, say, in the middle. From his northern holding he might be driven by some other family group. Then he might approach the victors in pacific spirit, and beg to be allowed to remain with his family on the land as a worker *(tia makuri).* This request being granted, he would take the status of a serf in respect of his northern lands. But in the middle, never having been driven from his holdings, he would retain the status of *toka.* A chief in one dis-

trict might become a worker in another district by inheriting the rights of a party that had fallen in war and thus been reduced to the status of worker.

It was often the policy of the high chief to provoke quarrels among the *toka.* Having a grudge against some chief—which might have been born, for example, from a suspicion that the *uea*'s interests were being neglected on the holdings of the chief—he would incite other chiefs to drive him from the land. If the dispossessed chief happened to be related by a marriage-tie to the high chief, the latter would see that he was not reduced to serfdom. But if there was no bond of blood or marriage between victor and vanquished, and therefore no danger of the victor's losing prestige by having a slave as a relative, the deposed chief would have to work for a living—probably on the very land over which he once held chief-right.

Often, if war seemed imminent, the workers or serfs on the land of a chief might turn against him and invite some more powerful *toka* to be their *rabuna* 'covering'. Such an invitation would usually be made to the very man who threatened their chief. Thus war was avoided, and the deserted chief, having no one to fight for him, would lose his rights without a blow.

It often happened that some small and solitary *toka* was surrounded by powerful enemies and, rather than risk his fortunes to war, he would ask one of his strong neighbours to be his *rabuna.* In this manner he got protection and safety, but he forfeited his chief-rights to his protector and became a *toro* 'serf', or 'worker on the land'. Nevertheless, the social status of such a seceding chief was always superior to that of one who had become a serf by true conquest. The women of his family could be taken in marriage by other chiefs, and the dues exacted from him as a worker were never so heavy as those levied upon a true slave.

Another class of chiefs were the *ba n uea,* or members of the *uea*'s *utu.* These had no lands or rights over land in the concrete. They were "fed by the *uea.*" Generally, they acted as the *uea*'s messengers when a levy was to be raised for the *uea*'s benefit. They carried the royal word to the various resident chiefs and saw that the order was passed on and obeyed. As a reward they were generally given a share of the *uea*'s revenues and were allowed to raise levies of their own with the royal permission.

Te toro *'the serf'*

The serf acquired his status by belonging to the vanquished party in any war. The chief of yesterday is the serf of today.

The unfailing custom of war in Butaritari, and all the other Gilbert Islands where chiefship prevails, was to set the vanquished chief as a serf or *tia makuri* on his own land. As the worker, he was entitled to all the fruits of the land that might remain after the levies of *uea* and *toka* had been paid. On Butaritari, the serf, being the original owner of the land, was always considered to have an inalienable right to remain there, and his issue inherited this right in the usual course. The *toka* respected his right, and seldom, if ever at all, was a case known where the *toro* or his issue were dispossessed in time of peace. In time of war, it was different. A victorious chief would take possession, and the fallen chief would then have the first claim to work on his lost lands. Thus he would oust the people who had formerly been his *toro,* and these would be landless. Generally, they would find some sort of menial work to do for one chief or another, especially if they were skilled fishermen, canoe builders, or healers. Often, however, they preferred to seek their fortune on another island and would migrate en masse in their canoes.

If a worker acquired land from an outside source, it came under the chief-right of the worker's chief. Conversely, if his chief acquired land from outside, he had the right of working on this extra land. If a worker committed an offence, his chief paid the penalty incurred, e.g., *bainaine* 'land in compensation for assaulting a man's wife or daughter'.

HIGH CHIEF-RIGHTS
BUTARITARI

The high chief could either transfer or abandon his high chief-right in respect of land.

A transfer of the high chief-right would most usually be made from the *uea* to one of his own *utu.* It was hardly likely that the *uea* would care to disperse the *utu*'s possessions by giving away its powers to one of another *utu.* Transfers of high chief-rights from the *uea* to one of his near relatives were made when the *uea* desired to have a man of influence residing in a particular district for political or other reasons. Such transfers were sometimes made only in favour of particular persons, and not of their issue. In any case, if the recipient of the high

chief-right, or his successors, should die without issue, the right passed not to the next of kin, but back into the high chief's hands.

The *uea* would often abandon his high chief-right over a single piece, or a few pieces, of land in favour of one of his workers, who held such land direct from the *uea* without an intermediary chief. In effect, such a favour amounted to the installation of a worker on the land, free from "taxation." The grant would be made in return for favours received: for example, it could be conferred as a *bainaine* or a *bainikuakua.* In these cases also, if the lineal descendants of the first recipient die without issue, the high chief-right lapses into the hands of the *uea.*

SLAVE, OR WORKING CLASS
BUTARITARI

By the use of a legal fiction, members of the working class on Butaritari could improve their status. They would agree with their chief to adopt him as their *toba.* [3] For this they would acquire land under the title of *te ban uri.*

This would not have the effect of obliterating the chief's chief-right over such land, but it would bring the chief theoretically into such relations of filial piety towards his adopters that the status of the latter would be considered equal to his own on that piece of land.

Further, the transaction had the definite effect of differentiating the land from the other possessions of the chief. Thenceforward only he and his issue had the right of sharing possession with his adopters and their issue.

If at any time the direct issue of the chief died out, the land became the property of the adopter's *utu,* with only the *uea*'s high chief-rights upon it.

CHIEFSHIP
BANABA

Men and women had equal treatment in the inheritance of chiefships, which depended generally on primogeniture.

But primogeniture was subject to the will of the parent who, if he had some objection to the eldest child, might appoint a younger to follow him as chief *(aomata).* An eldest son might be displaced for a younger daughter.

It is stated that a chief might give his adopted child the succession, but I have found no genealogical evidence to support this.

Chiefship could be inherited from either father or mother, or from both. For example, when Nei Kabuabai, the chiefess of Uma, married Na Kamaraia, the chief of Buakonikai, their only child Nei Tiara n uea became the chiefess of Uma and Buakonikai (Figure 12).

Chiefship passes lineally. If there are children, the brother of the chief cannot succeed, although he may become regent until a young chief is old enough to take control.

But if a chief prefers his brother's or sister's child, he can give him succession to the exclusion of his own children.

In the Buakonikai district there is a second chief whose authority is just less than that of the first. [4] The second chief has the privilege of "speaking second" in council and assembly. The second chief did not belong originally to the same family as the first, but is descended from one of the same canoe crew which originally came from Beru. In Figure 12, Nan Tabau, the chief of Buakonikai, was descended from Na Maninimate, and Nei Biriata, the second chiefess, from Nei Teborata, both of whom accompanied Nei Angi ni maeao in the fleet which came from Beru.[5]

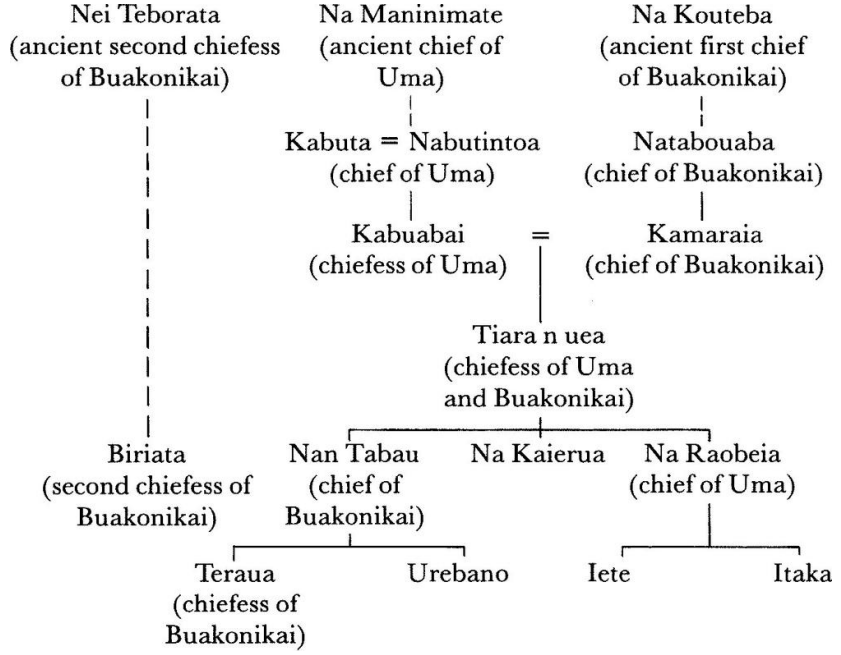


Figure 12. Inheritance of chiefship on Banaba

RECONCILIATION OF A FAMILY QUARREL
BANABA

In about 1913 the people of the families descended from the ancestors Na Maninimate and Anteiati (who call themselves a single *utu,* because their ancestors made a pact of brotherhood) quarrelled over the rights claimed over a *bangabanga* 'waterhole' in the district of Uma. The waterhole belonged ancestrally to the Na Maninimate folk and to the collaterals descended from Na Maninimate's "brother" Na Kainnako. On a point of proper pride, the Anteiati people, who really had no blood-relationship with the real owners, refused to participate any further in the use of the waterhole. In every other family affair they continued to share as brothers and sisters of the Na Maninimate people; they danced and fished, and played together as theretofore. Only in the matter of the waterhole they seceded.

This lasted until 1922, when a reconciliation was effected. To signalize this a small ceremony took place in the village maneaba. On a given day, in the afternoon, the parties to the quarrel—men, women, and children—collected, the one at the northern end of the maneaba, the other at the southern end. The senior of the Na Maninimate people was a man, the senior of the Anteiati group, a woman. The daughter of the senior Na Maninimate man arose with a wreath of flowers in her hand, crossed over to the Anteiati chiefess, and sitting before her put the wreath about her neck. No words were spoken on either side. I was informed at the time that any sort of wreath might have been used, so long as it was sufficiently handsome of its kind.

After the wreath had been adjusted the girl returned in silence to her place. A feast immediately began. Heaps of food, which both parties had brought with them, were set out in the middle of the maneaba and distributed.

EDUCATION OF BOYS

From the moment of weaning, a boy was regarded as a potential warrior, and from first to last the ceremonies which he underwent were performed with that idea predominating, the system of education known as *tuangaona* being the one generally preferred for preparing him for future success.

At about two years his hair was cut for the first time, being sawn through close to the scalp with the edge of a large shark's tooth while the ends were grasped in the father's hand. During the operation (which was performed by father, father's brother, or father's father), a charm was recited many times over, by which the infant's heart was hardened against the love of women. Only the closest male relatives of the boy were present at this *kabaka-ira* 'haircutting', as it was called. The hair was burned in a small fire on the eastern side of the house by him who had cut it, the child being held by one of the other assistants in close proximity to the flames. A second charm was recited, again with the object of protecting him from the wiles of the other sex, for all communication with women before ritual should have made him fit for marriage was considered liable to make a coward of him.

After this, until about his fifth year, he remained much in the company of his mother, and might play with little girls of his own age, for as yet he was not *wana wana* 'reasonable'. But at five he was taken by his father and, after being washed with fresh water from a wooden bowl *(te kumete)* as a sign that his infancy was done, he was set apart from his mother and sisters, forbidden the fellowship of all girls of his age, and obliged to sleep thereafter only beside boys and men.

During the next three years the little boy was allowed to eat as much as he could get or, as the natives say, "to carry a well-rounded stomach." But at about eight his diet began to be strictly regulated, though not so much in kind as in quantity. He was now approaching the age at which betrothal was usually arranged, and a girl's parents would not look favourably upon him if he were fat and sluggish; he was therefore put on very meager fare, and from that time onwards helped his father in all hard manual exercise that food-getting by sea and land entailed. Before he was ripe for the next ceremonies to be undergone, a period of fifteen years would have to elapse, and in the meantime we must imagine him absorbing all that the various members of his family cared to teach him of their skill in dancing and the art of composing chants; in fishing and canoe building; in the use of dagger, lance, and throwing-stick; in the craft of the housebuilder; and in endless other useful things that a native must know. All these accomplishments had their attendant magic, allied to simple forms of ritual, for nothing of importance was done, or thought, or said, or, as it would appear, even dreamed, without a preliminary charm. As the boy accu-

mulated practical skill he must therefore keep abreast in the esoteric science, lest the work to which he turned his hand should be unblest and fruitless.

At about ten years old he would probably leave his father's house for that of his paternal grandfather or grandfather's brother, to whom he had been promised in adoption. Arrangements for this transfer had very likely been made before his birth. He called his new guardian *tibu,* and owed to him the most particular devotion, becoming his food-getter, constant companion, and, in time of sickness, unwearying nurse. From him he learned much of the arts and crafts of his people, and above all the old man was his sole tutor in the jealously guarded tradition of the family—the generations, the heroic deeds, and the voyages of his ancestors; the cult of the ancestral spirit or spirits; the star-lore, the weather-lore, the geography, and the mythology of the race.

The boy would discard his baptismal name at this time and assume the name of his grandfather; but that would not prevent him at a later date from taking yet another, and another after that, if he willed. In addition to all the knowledge of his *tibu* he would also inherit a large piece of the old man's land under a special title known as *te aban tibu* 'the land of the adopted', which constituted the reward for his faithful care. This was left to him and to the issue of his body. If at any time his lineal descendants became extinct, even after three of four generations in theory, the land returned to the lineal descendants of the giver or, failing such, to the nearest collateral.

The object of the Gilbertese father in giving his son in adoption to an elder of his family was to provide for his aged relation a companionship and support which he, as a busy breadwinner, had no leisure to afford. It was a very sensible arrangement, calculated to promote high reverence in the young for the old and responsible for a great family solidarity. But it had some curious results, not the least strange of which was the decay of the local genealogies for, as these have been handed down from grandparent to grandchild since very early days, alternate generations have often been skipped, and it is a very tedious business to build up a complete record of any given line today.

When the boy's pectoral and axillary hair began to grow strongly, which would be between the ages of twenty and twenty-five in a normal subject, he was considered ready for the succession of trying ordeals called collectively *te kanna ni mane,* which name may be interpreted "the diet of a full-grown

man," and alludes to the increase of rations allowed to one who reached this stage. For the fifteen years that he had been living thin, his hair had been allowed to grow untouched, so that by the time the *kanna ni mane* era arrived he was the owner of a plentiful mop. When the star *Rimwimata* (Antares) appeared above the eastern horizon at sunset, the elders of his family appointed a day for the cutting of his hair.

Just before sunrise on the chosen day a large fire was lit on the eastern side of his father's house, and the boy sat down before it, facing east, after having eaten a full meal of coconut flesh. On either side of him stood a father's brother, urging him to stare unblinking into the flames; behind him stood his father, armed with a large shark's tooth, with which he cut through the boy's tangled hair. The operation was long and painful, but if the subject winced he was mocked by his watchful uncles, and if he attempted to turn his face from the scorching blaze of the fire they beat his cheeks with fans of coconut leaf until he gazed again into the flames. At the point of dawn the cut hair was divided into two portions, of which the smaller was thrown into the fire and the greater kept for future use.

This part of the ceremony was called *te kaura* 'the reddening' or 'scorching'; the second part, known as *te kabue-ari* 'the burning of the eyebrows', then began. The lad's adoptive grandfather approached, bearing a large shrivelled coconut leaf in his hand. This he set ablaze in the fire and, standing behind his grandson, shook over his naked shoulders and head a continuous shower of burning morsels. The heaviest of these were fanned away by the uncles, but the lesser sparks were allowed to burn themselves out on the bare skin, and if the lad flinched or attempted to wipe his streaming eyes he was taunted, pushed, and thrashed by his stern guardians. When the leaf was burned out the rite was at an end, and all care was then taken to soothe the unfortunate and smarting subject. For two more months at the same phase of the moon this ceremony was repeated. At the fourth moon took place the ordeal named *te ati ni kana*.

Again at the dark before dawn, a fire was lit up against the eastern side of the house, but this time only timbers giving the hottest flame were used, the iron-hard *Pemphis acidula (te ngea)* being preferred. Close beside the fire was set a large stone, whereon the boy sat, facing east. There he was given to drink a mixture of fresh water, sea water, and coconut oil in equal parts, stirred together in a coconut shell with the barb of a sting ray. This disgusting potion, administered to the recita-

tion of a charm, was supposed to give him a courage that lasted not only through his ordeal but for the rest of his life. His father's brothers being beside him, his father stood behind, and with the point of a shark's tooth proceeded to lacerate his scalp about the cranium until the blood streamed over his eyes and cheeks. Thus they left him sitting on the stone from sunrise to sunset, only returning to replenish the scorching fire or to beat him about the face with coconut leaf fans if he turned his head away or allowed his shoulders to droop in faintness. At the same phase of the moon for three successive months the ordeal was repeated.

During the time occupied by these observances the boy's adoptive grandfather was engaged in making his first manly weapon—a lance of seasoned coconut timber from ten to twelve feet long, with a double edge serrated by shark's teeth. The teeth were lashed into place with thin two-ply sinnet, of which one strand was of coconut fibre and the other of the lad's hair saved over from the initial ceremony of cutting. The lance being finished, it was slung to the roof of his father's house to await the time when it might be claimed as of right by the full-fledged warrior.

A month after the third repetition of the rite of *te ati ni kana,* and as usual at the same phase of the moon, the novice was taken to the eastern side of the island, where a small hut thatched with pandanus leaf had been built for him among the trees fringing the ocean beach. Accompanied by his adoptive grandfather, he was obliged to live in this dwelling until the thatch began to rot and leak above his head. This, in a succession of droughty seasons, might take four or even five years; in normal times it could hardly take less than two and a half years. The strictest watch was kept on him during this period. No woman, not even his mother or grandmother, might approach the place, and he was never permitted to go near the western or lagoon side of the island, where settlements were built. Youngsters were forbidden to have conversation with him; the senior members of his family brought his daily ration. He owed the most implicit obedience to the commands of his grandfather, who would set him tasks of strength, hardihood, and endurance to perform. If ordered by the old man to go on an errand—perhaps, for example, to bring in some heavy stone on his shoulder from among the breaking surf on the ocean reef—he must walk straight to the task, turning his eye neither to right nor left, pausing at no impediment, wincing at no hurt, and shrinking from no danger. Every time he wished to leave

his abode, he must ask the old man's leave, perform the permitted work, and return to his tutor. Nothing in the nature of amusement was allowed him; he was instructed to put away all soft and frivolous thoughts, and think only of deeds of strength, the day's task, the valour of his forbears, and all things befitting a worker and a warrior.

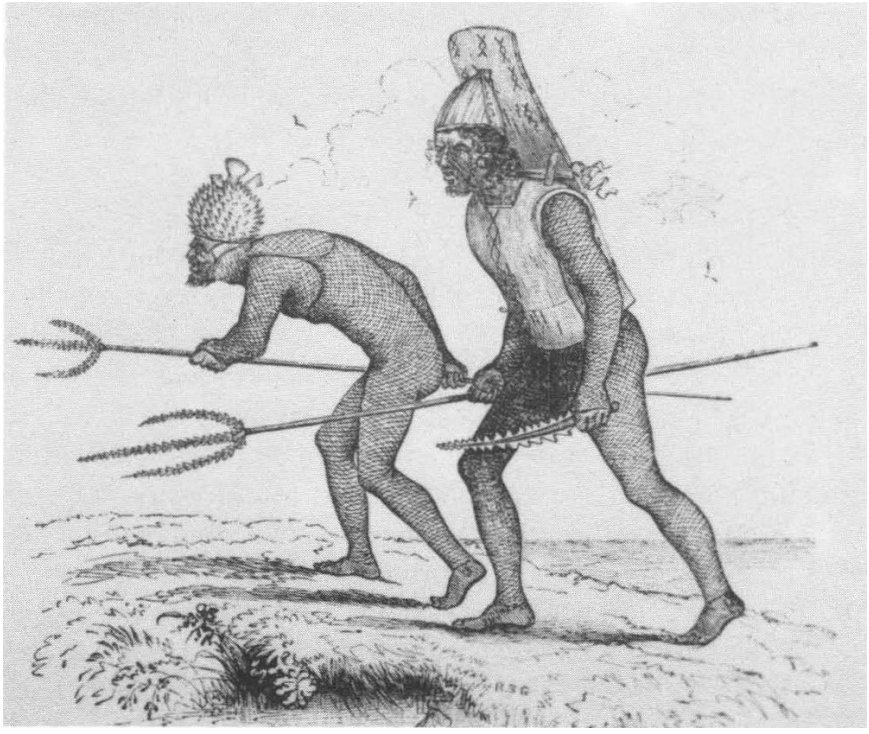
When the old man saw that the thatch came near to leaking, he put the physical strength of the young man to a series of severe tests. Logs of wood must be hewn with an adze of tridacna shell, in a given time; heavy boulders must be lifted and borne on the shoulder for certain distances; and saplings must be torn by the roots from the ground. If the pupil failed in his first effort, he was charmed by his tutor and given another trial, and another, until he succeeded, or until it was apparent that he could not succeed. Should he eventually not come up to the standard of strength required, a second house with a new thatch was built for him, and he was obliged to pass through the whole course again, from beginning to end. But failure was unusual, as I am informed. If a lad lacked strength, the efficacy of the family magic and the ancestral spirits might be relied upon, and such was the might of the spells whispered upon him that even with the puniest of arms he could easily perform the labours set.

So, when the thatch began to leak, the novice once more returned to his family; the new lance of manhood's estate was given him; a great dance and feast was held, and thus, without further ceremony, he was endowed with the title of *roro-buaka* 'warrior' Often his marriage followed hard upon his release from confinement. [6]

Two other methods were used by the Gilbertese for bringing up a boy and preparing him for the estate of warrior.

Ukeukenei

This system is said to have produced the most violent and quarrelsome spirit in a young man. Those who were brought up by the method are said to have brooked no contradiction whatever; they returned violent answers to peaceful questions; they showed anger on the slightest excuse; and they seized the nearest weapon to break everything in sight. Further, they ate lizards, human flesh, and filth of every sort without showing disgust, and could not be made ashamed or nauseated by any sight, word, or deed.



Warriors (tani-buaka), Tabiteuea, 1841. (Wilkes, 5:48)

Baremau

The method most in vogue at Butaritari and Makin was called *baremau* and is said to have been handed down from Rairaueana te I-Matang, the son of Batiku who came from Samoa.

At about the age of four a boy's hair was first cut. When it grew long again there came the second cutting, which was usually a year or two afterwards. The third cutting came when once more the hair was long.

For three days after each cutting the boy's food was only coconut. The nut was laid on the palm and cracked into halves with a single blow. The two halves fell to the ground. Only the halves that fell with the cup upwards could be eaten by the boy. Those that fell with face downwards were given to the girls and women of the *utu.*

When the boy's third haircutting was done he was put on short rations. He might eat nothing but what was given him by his *tibu.* He must touch no food that had not been prepared by the hand of his own *utu.* He must sleep apart from all women.

At about sixteen years the boy was given his *kanna ni mane.* A coconut tree was sought on the east shore of the island on which grew three nuts alone on one stalk, facing the east. These nuts were not cut, but torn off the stalk. For a period of three days the boy's sole food was the water of these nuts, at the rate of one a day.

For three days after this he returned to a full diet; on the fourth day he was given sea-water in a coconut shell, stirred with the barb of a sting ray. One such drink of sea-water per day for a space of three days was his sole diet.

He was then a man, but not yet fit for a wife. When the pectoral and axillary hair was well grown he was taken by his *tibu* to the eastern shore of the island and there taught the incantation called *kauti,* made to the rising sun. This was magic for the stiffening of the heart and the awakening of courage, and it completed the lad's education.

IMPORTANCE OF SISTER'S SON

Throughout the Gilberts, the relationship between a man and his sister's son is held in particular regard. It is generally the sister's son whom a man adopts as his *nati* or *tibu;* and even if no special relationship of adoption has been contracted, a man will consider it his particular duty to be kind in every way to his sister's son. If asked by the boy for a prized possession or secret, such as a canoe or an incantation in magic, he would be ashamed to refuse.

There is no special terminology to differentiate the sister's son and mother's brother relationship from the other classificatory fathers and sons of the *utu,* but the difference in personal relations between them is well marked in practice. I have myself applied the test in a practical manner, for if ever a piece of information was difficult to extract from a Gilbertese, I have made a rule of approaching his sister's son who, being a member of the modern generation, is usually easier to handle than his seniors. Once having made a friend of the youngster, one has only to persuade him to beg his mother's brother for the information needed, and it is almost invariably available.

Sorcery

TE WAWI: BY MEANS OF *TE KEKETI*
TAKEUTA, AGED 68–75, *MARAKEI*

Takeuta informed me that he once killed a man by the sorcery known as *te keketi* 'the dragon-fly'. Just before sunset he went with a small-meshed *riena* 'scoop net' to a *babai* pit which he knew to be the haunt of the terracotta-coloured dragon-fly called *te keketi.* He waited about the banks of the pit until he recognized one of these insects distinguished by spots on the wings (*baibureburе* 'wing-spotted'). He caught this in the net. Without hesitation he clapped the mouth of the net to the ground and muttered the following words three times over:

> Ba N nang tiba—I ti tieria keketi n te ara ni mane, te-manna, teuana man tangaia—Ten Naewa. E rangi rana? E rangi baina. E rangi rana? E rangi wena. E rangi rana? E rangi nanona. E rangi rana? E rangi matana. E rangi rana? E rangi atuna. E rangi rana? E rangi, ngaia, te aomata Ten Naewa. E rangi, e rangi. E baba, E baba. E mate, E a mate.
>
> For I am just about to—I only catch it in a net dragon-fly in the name of a man, one person, one from among their host—So and so. It is mad his what? It is mad his hand. It is mad his what? It is mad his foot. It is mad his what? It is mad his heart. It is mad his what? It is mad his eye. It is mad his what? It is mad his head. It is mad his what? He is mad, he, the person So and so. He is mad, he is mad. He is foolish, He is foolish. He is dead, he is dead.

When this was said three times Takeuta put his left hand under the net and closed it upon the dragon-fly. Thus he carried it home. Near his living house was a small hut used for storing odds and ends of fishing gear and lumber. This hut he had carefully prepared in advance for the reception of the insect, closing up all visible chinks in the roof and hanging mats around the sides, so as to render egress impossible. He had also deposited rotten fish, excrement, and all sorts of other filth upon the floor. Carrying the dragon-fly into this hovel, he carefully bit off its two "beards" *(buai),* and spat them out on the floor. Then he let the insect go free in the darkness and standing there clapped his hands slowly together while muttering the following words:

> Ba N nang tiba—I ti uboia keketi n te ara ni mane … (etc., as before).
>
> For I am just about to—I only clap it dragon-fly in the name of a man …

After three repetitions of the whole formula he left the hut, carefully closing it behind him. He told me that as soon as he left, the dragon-fly began to search for a way of escape from the hut; if it had found egress Takeuta's enemy would have lived. But as it found none it gradually weakened and died. As it approached its end so did Takeuta's victim sicken and lose his reason, his death eventually coinciding with that of the insect, which is obviously thus a "life-index." [1]

In Takeuta's possession was also the counter magic to this death spell. He told me that he could at any stage of his victim's sickness undo the effects of the *wawi* by muttering three times the following formula:

> O, Nei Terang—o ma Nei Temnao! Kam a tian taua ma n tokonono ma n ibetutu ma n ibetangatanga i roun te aomata aei. An, teirake; an nako! An, teirake; an, nako!
>
> Oh, woman Terang—o with woman Temnao! You have held him and made disorder and made confusion and made tumult with the person this. Come, arise; come, begone! Come, arise; come, begone!

This might be said anywhere, but preferably by the side of the sick man, whose symptoms thereafter would gradually leave him. Generally a man would demand a heavy payment of land before he would consent to undo the effects of his sorcery.

The names of the women addressed in this formula mean respectively "Mad One" *(te rang)* and "Crayfish *(te mnao).* It seems safe to assume that although their names are not mentioned in the two original incantations, they are the spiritual powers who carry them into effect. The terms of the curative formula clearly show that the attitude of the sorcerer towards the spirits is as that of a master to a servant: commanding, and not suppliant.

TE WAWI: ON A COOKING FIRE

If you had an enemy, you watched him until he made a fire of embers for cooking his fish. When he had taken his food from the fire and left it smouldering you secretly approached with a fragment of wood broken from the midrib of a shrivelled coconut leaf. Stirring the embers with this in a counter-clockwise direction, you recited as follows:

> Ewaran ai ni kanana! Boario boarake, boamate, boatabwe! A bung kanoan nanoia! A bung, ao a rai, ao a mate, ao a tabwenaua. Mamaia, bekebekeia, raira atona: e a tia be a mate-o! Kokonna konie! Kokonna konae! A bung kanoan nanoia, a bung ao a rai, a mate, ao tabwenaua. Kokonna konie, kokonna konae! A bung kanoan nanoia! A bung, ao a rai, ao a mate, ao a tabwenaua. Mamaia, bekebekeia, raira atona! E a tia, be a mate-o!
>
> Stabbing of the fire of his food! Strike west, strike east, strike death, strike rending apart! They begin to be in pain his bowels! They begin to be in pain, they are overturned, they die, they are rent apart. Shame him, confuse him, overturn his liver: it is finished for he is dead! Strangle him (euphonic)! Strangle him (euphonic)! They begin to be in pain his bowels, they begin to be in pain and they are overturned, and they die, and they are rent apart. Strangle him (euphonic), strangle him (euphonic)! They begin to be in pain his bowels! They begin

> to be in pain, they are overturned, they die, they are rent apart. Shame him, confuse him, overturn his liver! It is finished, for he is dead!

This was repeated three times. It was claimed that the enemy on eating the fish cooked in the fire would begin to vomit and be seized with sudden contractions of the muscles, and would eventually die. [2]

TE WAWI: ON A VICTIM'S FOOD
TAKEUTA, AGED 68–75, *MARAKEI*

Takeuta told me of a method by which the death of an enemy may be caused by cursing his food. You took a piece of the food he was to eat in your right hand; then folded your arms to your breast as if you were rocking a child to sleep. Swaying gently backwards and forwards, you muttered the following, three times, with your eyes fixed on your right hand:

> Tabeka ni kana n Ten Naewa ae-i-ee! Kanana n ra? Kanana ni bo. Kanana n ra? Kanana ni mate. Kanana n ra? Kanana ni betinako. Ba abana Bainang, ao Roro, ao Rabaraba-ni-Karawa.
>
> Lifting of food of So-and-so this! His food to do what? His food to be smitten. His food to do what? His food to die. His food to do what? His food to drift away. For his land is Bainang, and Roro, and side of heaven.

After eating the food from which the cursed piece was taken, the victim sickened and died.

Bainang, Roro, and Rabaraba-ni-Karawa 'the horizon' were places to which the ghost of a newly dead person was driven in the ceremony following death called *bomaki* throughout the Gilberts.

TE WAWI: TO KILL YOUR SON'S ENEMY

If your son came to you and complained that he had an enemy who always got the better of him, you made him sit at your feet as you stood behind him facing east. You filled a coconut

shell with a mixture of sea-water and fresh water. You sprinkled the contents of this shell over the head of your son as he sat, reciting meanwhile the following incantation:

> Bokei ma bokio, bwerebwere i mwin ma bwerebwere i moan, I aki tabwenabwena ba te ba ngai! I aki raingingi ba tiaki! Te nari ngai! I aki riaku ma riratau e ria te aba, e toro te aba, e baba te aba-ee. Kaira, kaira kain waia Timine te iriko, te rara, te mama te aomata. Ninia ewatia ke e ing, ke e wa, ke e mate, ke e tabwe. Antai te aomata ae ti ananangai man tataekinai? Ninia ewatia, ke e ing. Ke e wa, ke e mate, ke e tabwe. Ai ko na ira, kena ruana, tiringa, tauna, kamatea, be a tia, e a mate-o-o!

This was repeated three times; your water had to last for all repetitions. When the third was done, you kicked your son in the back with your right foot, and he immediately rose and ran to find his enemy and give him battle. You at once flung the coconut shell on the ground where he had been sitting, so that it smashed into fragments. You picked up the fragments and burned them, took the ashes to the ocean beach, and carried them on a canoe out to sea, where you cast them into the waves as the food of the fishes. Just as the ashes were consumed and eaten, so would your son's enemy fall.

DEATH MAGIC AGAINST AN ENEMY WHO WOUNDS YOU

If you are wounded by an enemy, so that the wound bleeds, you must not eat but go to bed fasting until the next sun rises. In the dark before dawn you go to the sea-shore (either east or west) and fill a *binobino* 'coconut-shell container' with sea-water.

You then return to your house and stand outside it, on the east side and facing east, just under the end of the central rafter. You hold the shell in either your right or left hand and sprinkle its contents on the earth with a circular movement of the arm. If your right hand is used the movement is first away, then across, then towards, then back across your body.

As you sprinkle you mutter:

> Tiana eweewe, tanaria eweewe, tanaria, tanatanaria. Ti tokia-e; tierebua-e; ma tierebua nakea raran te aomata; ma tierebua nakon noun Tarawa, Tabakea, be na aki

> unun raran te aomata aio; ti a tiringa irina, tia kabeti nakoa; e bo ma rabaraba ni karawa. Ti a tiringa, ti a boia, ti a kamatea, to wa ni maoto, ti a tii bubuna, ti a tii bubuna Nanimoimo, Terane, ko memena iroun te aomata anne, Nanimoimo ke ti na momoti ri ni baina, ri ni waena, ri n tabanou, taba-nounou, te aran-ra te aran noua, te aran tabwe; kenna nuana, tauna bannaia, me a mate o-o!

Your water in the shell must last for three repetitions of this charm. When you have done, you throw the empty shell over the roof of the house so that it falls on the west side. A friend, either a man or a woman, waits there. He picks up a stick or stone and beats the shell to fragments. Together you gather the broken pieces and burn them in a fire made for the purpose. Then you take the ashes and put them on a flat piece of wood or anything else that will float. You make a sail out of a leaf or twig and set the craft adrift. As it gets farther and farther from the land, so your enemy will progressively pine away, and at last die.

TE WAWI: AN ANTIDOTE
KATUTU OF TUARABU, AGED ABOUT 60, *TARAWA*

Food that has been cursed by an enemy may be rendered harmless. Lay the food upon a leaf on the ground or on the floor of a dwelling, and cover it with a mat of any description. Sit before it (no particular orientation is necessary), holding in the right hand the fan-like tip of a dried coconut leaf. Wave this exactly in the manner of a fan, to and fro and up and down, over the covered food. Occasionally tap the covering mat lightly with the fan's tip. While thus occupied, repeat the following three times:

> Unaunauna ni matan anti. Kang anti, taba anti; kang anti, taba anti. Anti ni mauere-mauere, o-o-o! O, nako! Nako te anti, o-o-o! Ko ninibao ni bong, ko ninibao ni ngaina! Anti ni meangira, maiakira, mainikura, maeaora, maieta, mainano. Ko na kanane-wenewe, ko na kana te boka, ko na kana te buni barabara. Anti ni mauere-mauere, o-o-o! O, nako! Nako, ma ko a tai rikaki maikoa. Kanga-o, anti-o, nako.

> Decoration of face of spirit. Eat up spirit, choked with food spirit; eat up spirit, choked with food spirit. Spirit of [?] [?] o-o-o! O, go away! Go away the spirit o-o-o! You are shrivelled up at night, you are shrivelled up in the day! Spirit of north of us, south of us, east of us, west of us, above, below. You shall eat [?] [?], you shall eat the rottenness, you shall eat the poison-fish [?]. Spirit of [?] [?], o-o-o! O, go away! Go away, and you must not come back to this side. Verily-o, spirit-o, go away.

As soon as the third repetition is done, you rise and go quickly to the sea-shore. There you throw the leaf, fan-handle first, like a dart, into the water. You may then return and eat the cursed food with impunity.

It is claimed that this ritual will also preserve the eater from the evil effects of poison. [3]

PROTECTIVE MAGIC AGAINST *TE WAWI*

The *bonobono* ‘protection’ or ‘antidote’ against *te wawi* ‘death magic’: Take a coconut shell full of fresh water and sprinkle it over your head while saying the following (or else you may take a paddle and stab the air);

> Tabeki te bwe, karoa te bwe i au batikutiku, i au batikutiku, ba a mananga anti n abau, ba a anaiai, ba N nangi nako, ba N nangi ewa te wawi aei aio. Ma tai teteitei ma tai ngongoa ma tai nibangutungutu nkami akanne aomata, ma kam na inging, ma kam na bo, ma kam na mate, ma kam na tabwe. Tabaingina ma Nainginno, bobo i tari ma bobo i anna. Ewaia i atina kororobung me a ing; ewaia i atina kororobung me a tawenaua.
>
> Lift the paddle, hold up the paddle of my ancestor, of my ancestor, for they set forth spirits of my land, for they take me, for I am about to go, for I am about to stab this *wawi* here. But do not stand, but do not speak, but do not [?] you those people, but you shall stir, but you shall be struck, but you shall die, but you shall be rent apart. Tabaingina and Nainginno, meet at sea and meet ashore. Thrust it on its stone [?] so it stirs; thrust it on its stone [?] so it is split apart.

Say this three times. There is no special time prescribed, and no particular orientation.

PROTECTIVE MAGIC *(BONOTAN TE WAWI)* TAKEUTA, AGED 68–75, *MARAKEI*

If a man feared that the food which he was about to eat might have been cursed with the death magic [*te wawi*], he first took a pinch of the suspected food in his right hand and quickly whispered to himself the following:

> Taua ni kanaia Taburimai ma Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki ma Nei Tituabine, ai-e-i!
>
> I aki bua, I aki taro; te mauri, te raoi, te tabomoa ngai-o!
>
> Holding of their food Taburimai and Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki and Nei Tituabine, this-e-i!
>
> I am not lost, I am not dismayed; health, peace, excellence am I-o!

After repeating this three times he might eat the food with confidence.

The names of the beings cited in this protective spell are those of the famous ancestral deities of the Gilbertese clans. These are all reputed to have been fair-skinned beings. Being clan deities they are closely associated with the patrilineal organization and totem exogamy. It is a remarkable fact that practically all the protective magic in the group cites the names of these beings, whereas the destructive magic never mentions them. [4]

SUN MAGIC: TO PROTECT AGAINST AN ENEMY'S MAGIC

If you fear the magic of an enemy, your strongest protector is the sun.

You should go to the eastern shore just before dawn and pluck a *kakoko* 'young coconut pinnule' from the crest of one of the coconut trees that grow there. You say the following charm over it:

> Ko na ingingi bonotau, ko na kakangi bonotau;
> ko na ingingi bonotau, ko na kakangi bonotau.
> Buabua ni manga, buabua ni manga.
> E ing, e ewa, e tabwena.

This is repeated three times. You then await the sunrise. When half the disc is above the sea you hold your *kakoko* with its tip towards the sun looking down its length as down the barrel of a gun. Then you put your fingers in its loop and keeping the *kakoko* taut you revolve your hands round each other to the following charm:

> Auao niria i aon waia Kantaubua, mai mate buabua, e wati, e tabwena. Te ririki maeao. Uboiario, uboiarake. Tai-o-o, tei iaou ikai: kakangi oraoraia, ko na kana te wawi, ma ko na kana te wan-Tonga, ma ko na kana te kabetinako, ma ko na kana te bobouan wai naba. Ko na kana te anti te aomata, bu-u ba-a, e a mate konau ba te aomata.

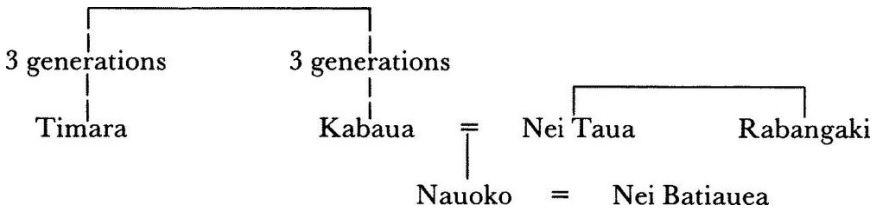
After three repeats of this you wear the *kakoko* on your head. You do not eat until noon. When you take your meal, you lay the headress aside and resume it when you have finished.

In the evening do the same. If you awake at night do not eat, and do not lie with a woman for three days, this being the time during which you perform the ceremony. The magic is done fasting.

Tinaba *and* Eiriki

PREFERENCE FOR THE MOTHER-IN-LAW'S BROTHER (1)

The genealogy below illustrates a concrete case in which the uterine brother of the mother-in-law was preferred to a distant classificatory brother of the father-in-law, as the *tinaba* of a young wife: [1]



Timara, a third cousin of Nauoko's father, approached Nauoko with the request that he should supply his wife Batiauea as a *tinaba.* In actual practice such a connection is very general between persons standing to each other in the relation of Timara and Batiauea, especially on Tarawa. But Nauoko refused to supply his wife to Timara on the ground that he was a father's brother and therefore the union would be *kamara* 'filthy'.

Nauoko refused this request of Timara with great shame, because a Gilbertese owes almost implicit obedience to his father's classificatory brothers. The fact that his sentiment against the act of *tinaba* proposed was stronger than even his sense of filial piety shows how powerful is still the aversion against *tinaba* between a girl and her father-in-law's brothers.

On the other hand Nauoko, although a Christian, informed me that if Rabangaki, his mother's own brother, made a similar request, he would be unable to refuse to give Batiauea as his *tinaba.* It need hardly be pointed out how valuable is such a concrete instance as proof that, before the generalization of *tinaba,* a young wife could enter into this relation only with the brothers of her mother-in-law.

There is an opinion among the old men that *tinaba* is "easier" on the part of the mother's brother than the father's brother. Their explanation is that the sister of a man is his inferior and will easily consent to procure her daughter-in-law for him; whereas a man's brother will not, on account of his equality of sex, be so complaisant. This may not be the fundamental explanation of the origin of *tinaba,* but it is valuable in that it denotes the recognition by the Gilbertese of the greater ease with which a *tinaba* may be arranged between a girl and her mother-in-law's brother.

PREFERENCE FOR THE MOTHER-IN-LAW'S BROTHER (2)

The custom of *tinaba,* as practised in the later stages of Gilbertese social development, has undergone a process of generalization, in which the essential difference between the relatives of a girl's father-in-law and those of her mother-in-law has become less and less clear. [2] Nevertheless, it is clear from the concrete examples collected that still in the majority of cases a young wife was taken as *tinaba* by her mother-in-law's brothers in preference to her father-in-law's brothers.

My cases were necessarily obtained entirely at random, their collection depending upon the willingness of the informant to speak in concrete terms of a relation which is now prohibited under the penal code. Thus they are the more valuable as evidence because they cannot be suspected of having been given as the material for any ex parte argument.

Assuming the spontaneity with which my examples were given by the various informants it is possible, without weakening their value, to admit that for each case given in which the girl became the *tinaba* of her mother-in-law's brother, there may have been a case hidden in which she was involved with her father-in-law's brother. In fact such an admission would tend only to enhance the value of my illustrations, because that which a person admits in sexual matters is that which

causes him no shame, and that which he hides is that which, for some reason or another, is shameful to him. Generally speaking he will be unashamed of a relation which is established upon popular consent, and he is ashamed of that which is contrary to generally accepted practices. I assume therefore that my concrete cases of *tinaba,* collected from nearly every island of the Gilberts, are a true reflection of the open practice of the custom as permitted by public opinion.

When I noticed in my examples the increasing majority of cases in which a girl became the *tinaba* of her mother-in-law's brother, I determined to make my enquiries by some method whereby, without informing anyone of my intention, I might find out whether they were guided by some prejudice in favour of the mother-in-law relations. My method was first to get into conversation with an old man about some subject, such as a land claim or a matter of inheritance, during the discussion of which it was possible to get the names of his father's and mother's brothers, both distant and nearly related. These I would write down in my note-book. A few days later I would open the general subject of *tinaba* with the same old man, and at a favourable moment would name one of his father's brothers and one of his mother's brothers, both related to him in an equal degree, and ask him which of the two he considered the more suitable *tinaba* of his wife.

I applied this test to more than one hundred old men: in every case the answer was in favour of the mother's brother. We may therefore say with absolute certainty that when the choice is to be made between men who stand close, and in an equal degree of relationship, the one to the girl's father-in-law and the other to her mother-in-law, it is the mother-in-law's brother who will be chosen.

It is important to note that this opinion was adhered to even by old men who in actual experience had seen it overridden. For example, more than one of my witnesses admitted that his own wife had been taken as a *tinaba* by his father's own brother; but all were nevertheless definite in the opinion that such a practice was against decency. None, on the other hand, had any objection in principle to the submission of his wife as the *tinaba* of his mother's own brother.

In cases where the distant brother of the father-in-law was mentioned together with a uterine brother of the mother-in-law there was less certainty. Many old men said that there was little or nothing to choose between the two, and they invariably gave as an answer that "both were distant." The majority of

these made the distance referable to the daughter-in-law. This is a very remarkable thing. We are studying a marriage system of which the salient feature is its regulation by means of genealogy. And the essence of such a system is that the *utu* of the wife is separate and distinct from the *utu* of the husband. Consistently then with such ideas, there never could come into being a standard of measuring the nearness of distance of a young wife from the brothers either of her father-in-law or her mother-in-law, because she should be utterly unconnected with both groups of people. If we wish to find the origin of so inconsistent an idea, we shall have to look for it outside the genealogical system. In other words, we shall have to regard the ideas connected with *tinaba* as foreign to the leading principles of the marriage organization we are studying, if we are to explain their presence.

Several of my informants, however, in stating that the daughter-in-law might be taken as a *tinaba* by either a distant brother of the father-in-law or a uterine brother of the mother-in-law, "because both were distant," definitely made this distance referable to the young husband. From this point of view it seems that a boy's wife must not become the *tinaba* of the nearly related brothers of his father: the relationship is permissible only with distant brothers of the father, while no impediment is set in the way of mother's brothers. The prohibition of sexual intercourse between a daughter-in-law and her father-in-law's closer brothers might be the result of the essential intimacy deemed to exist between father and son; while the absence of restriction in connection with the mother-in-law's brothers might be the outcome of the small consequence in which relatives on the female side were held.

But such an explanation is far too indefinite. It offers no solution to the question as to how the practice of *tinaba* originated; and in suggesting that it was an internal development of the patrilineal idea it is open to the grave objection that the practice of *tinaba* is utterly foreign to the spirit in which patrilineal societies in Polynesia, possessing a genealogical system of regulating marriage, regarded the institution of marriage.

I think that there can be little doubt indeed that patrilineal ideas played a part in the more recent development of the custom, and to such ideas I attribute the process of generalization to which I have referred, whereby the distinction between mother-in-law's and father-in-law's brothers began in practice, if not in theory, to break down.

But as to the actual origin of *tinaba,* we must regard it as an element foreign to the genealogical and patrilineal system in which it is embedded; and we must, on the evidence before us, look outside this system for a mechanism whereby the brothers of a girl's mother-in-law were able to acquire sexual rights over her. Such a mechanism will also have to explain the attitude of mind of the majority of my informants who, in discussing the persons with whom a girl might fitly enter into the relation of *tinaba,* adopted a standard of measuring her nearness or distance from an *utu* with which, under a logical and consistent application of the genealogical system, she could have no possible connection either near or distant.

PREFERENCE FOR THE MOTHER-IN-LAW'S BROTHER (3)

In general support of the inference that *tinaba* was originally practised only between a girl and her husband's mother's brother is the following example. A man who either is already engaged in an affair with a girl, or wishes to be so, will approach any one of his (classificatory) sisters who has a son, and arrange with her that her son shall take the desired girl as his wife. When the union has been accomplished, the young wife of course becomes the *tinaba* of her lover.

The strong connection of *tinaba* with the brother of a woman's mother-in-law is here evident. If the relationship could originally be established by the brother of the father-in-law, it is difficult to understand why a lover in the situation above described should not be able to approach his brother's son with a view to arranging the desired marriage.

It is clear that the practice of *tinaba* by a girl with her mother-in-law's brothers can have no connection with a patrilineal organization of society. Under the patrilineal system the father-in-law and his brothers, being of the same social group as the girl's husband, would be her natural mates in the *tinaba* relationship. But, as the evidence shows, these were not considered to be the fitting persons to take her as *tinaba,* the brothers of the mother-in-law being preferred. We may conclude from this that the custom is part of a system that was not patrilineal but matrilineal in character.

TINABA RELATIONS WITH THE WIFE'S MOTHER

The existence of the *tinaba* relationship between a girl and her husband's own father is described by the Gilbertese as "a cause for vomiting." It is regarded with the greatest contempt and loathing. In past times a man suspected of sexual relations with his own daughter-in-law might be killed with impunity by one or more of his brothers; or he might be taken by his *utu* and floated away to sea without food. It is therefore a very remarkable fact that a boy could perfectly well enter into relations of *tinaba* with his wife's own mother. [3] This was of quite frequent occurrence. Public opinion was not in great favour of the practice in later times, but this element of disfavour cannot be regarded as fundamental, because if a boy took his mother-in-law as *tinaba* her husband was bound neither by demeanour nor word to show his son-in-law that he objected. The most he might do was to talk to his wife in the matter, but even thus, if she insisted on pursuing the relationship, he might not lift a finger to prevent her.

During 1922 this duty of the father-in-law towards his daughter's husband was well illustrated in its breach. The following pedigree will explain the situation:

Terabwena = Nei Tetake

Nei Bakaiti = Tika

Tika took his mother-in-law, Nei Tetake, as his *tinaba,* and Terabwena, the father-in-law, objected. His remedy was to report to the government, which has prohibited this relationship; he did not, however, take this obvious means of prevention, but brooded on the matter for a long time, and after trying to persuade his wife to break off the connection, determined to kill his son-in-law. On a suitable occasion he stabbed the boy, though not mortally, and the whole affair became public. I discussed the incident with many old men, who were unanimous in their opinion that Terabwena was a churl, and that he had absolutely no grounds according to Gilbertese custom for his jealousy.

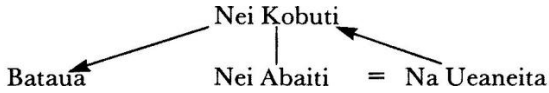
I was informed that in cases where a young man took as *tinaba* the mother of his wife and had a daughter by her, this child was treated as the child of his father-in-law in all matters pertaining to inheritance, and was treated by the real father as the sister of his wife. But the young man could not then take the child as his *eiriki,* as he could with any other sister of his wife.

TINABA
BUTARITARI

Three distinct classes of persons were called *tinaba* on Butaritari:

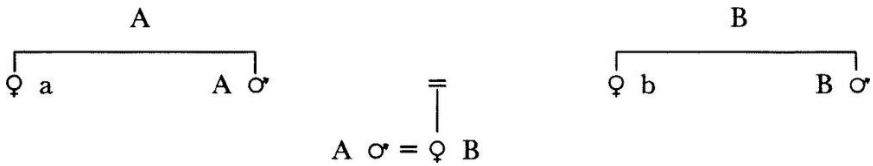
1. If a woman's brother married, his wife became that woman's *tinaba* (called *kainaba* south of Butaritari). [4]
2. If the daughter of a woman's sister married, her husband became the woman's *tinaba.* [5]
3. A woman's own son-in-law sometimes became her *tinaba.*

Some strange relationships arose out of the custom of *tinaba* at (3), as shown below:



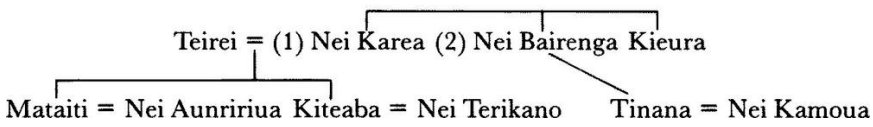
Na Ueaneita was Nei Kobuti's son-in-law. He entered into a *tinaba* alliance with her. She bore him a son, Bataua. Bataua was then the son of Nei Abaiti in respect of her husband and the brother of Nei Abaiti in respect of her mother. [6]

If we imagine an exogamous tribe of two moieties, it is clear how the name *tinaba* can be applied to both a man and a woman.



TINABA
MARAKEI

1.

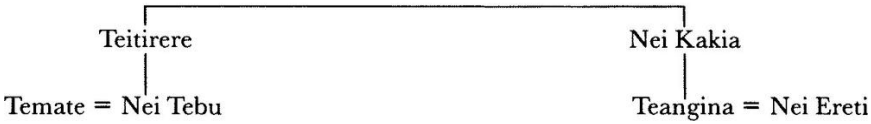


All the wives of the three children of Teirei (by his two wives) were taken in *tinaba* by Kieura, their mother-in-law's brother.

2.

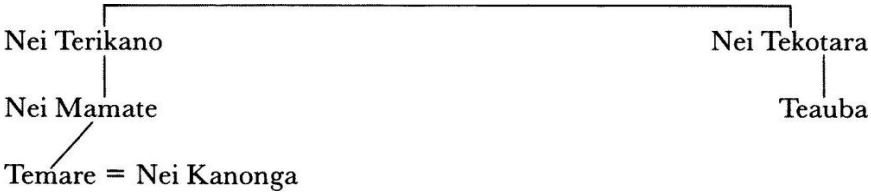
Nei Tebaibure was *tinaba* of her mother-in-law's brother Kabaea.

3.



Nei Ereti became *tinaba* of Teitirere, her husband's mother's brother. [7] Temate took as *tinaba* both his father-in-law's wife and his father-in-law's sister Nei Kakia. [8]

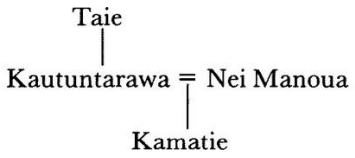
TINABA
ABAIANG



Nei Kanonga was given in *tinaba* to Teauba by Temare, the classiflcatory sister's child of Teauba.

TINABA RELATIONS WITH SON'S WIFE
TARAWA

There is a case, well-known on Tarawa, in which the actual father of a man entered into the relation of *tinaba* with his son's wife, or rather bride-elect.



In the above pedigree the girl Manoua had not yet become the wife of Kautuntarawa, but had been taken into the house of his father, according to custom, after betrothal, to await the coming-of-age of her pledged husband. Before the boy was ripe for marriage, Taie, his father, contrary to the accepted standard of decency, took the girl and begot a child on her. This child was Kamatie.

Later, Kautuntarawa married his betrothed and had several children by her. For the sake of appearances Kamatie has always been called the brother of these children, although in reality he is their father's half-brother, and therefore their classiflcatory father.

TINABA RELATIONSHIPS IN CASES OF ADOPTION AS *TIBU*

1. If a man adopted a boy as his *tibu,* the wife of the adopted became the *tinaba* of the adopter's son.
2. If a man adopted a girl as his *tibu,* the husband of the adopted took the adopter's daughter as his *tinaba.*
3. If a woman adopted a boy as her *tibu,* her son took the wife of the adopted as his *tinaba.*
4. If a woman adopted a girl as her *tibu,* the husband of the adopted took the daughter of the adopter as his *tinaba.*

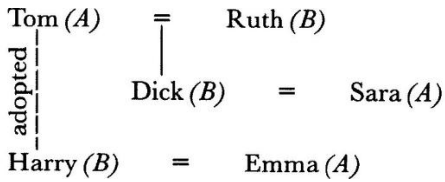
If this were evolved from a dual system with matrilineal descent we should expect the *tinaba* relationship to be permissible only if a man adopted either (a) his sister's son's son, or (b) his brother's daughter's son. And in the case of a woman she would have to adopt either (a) her brother's son's son, or (b) her sister's daughter's son.

In the case of a girl being adopted she would, to fulfill conditions, have to be, if a man was the adopter, (a) his brother's daughter's daughter, or (b) his sister's son's daughter. If a woman was the adopter, the girl must be either (a) her brother's son's daughter, or (b) her sister's daughter's daughter.

Examples

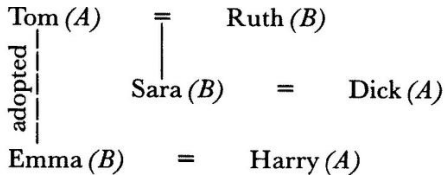
To illustrate the various situations, let us take people from moieties *A* and *B*.

1. Man adopts a boy, whose wife becomes *tinaba* of adopter's son:



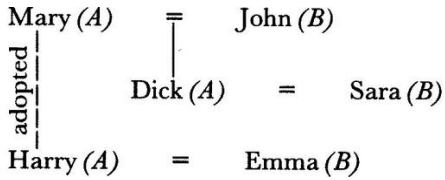
If this were founded on a dual system, Harry, the adopted, would have to be of the same moiety as Dick, so that his wife should be of the other moiety and thus capable of sexual intercourse with Dick. We should expect Harry to have sexual rights with Sara, the wife of Dick.

2. Man adopts a girl, whose husband becomes *tinaba* of adopter's daughter:



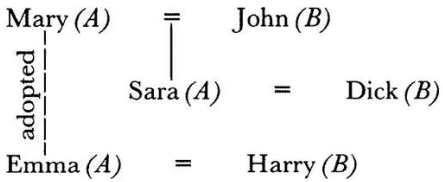
Emma must be of Sara's moiety in order that Harry may have intercourse with Sara. Harry should also have the right of intercourse with Ruth, and Emma with Dick and Tom.

3. Woman adopts a boy, whose wife becomes *tinaba* of adopter's son:



Harry must be of the same moiety as Dick, and therefore (as above) ought to have sexual rights over Sara.

4. Woman adopts a girl, whose husband becomes *tinaba* of adopter's daughter:



Harry should have rights over Mary as well as Sara, and Emma should be subject to *tinaba* with Dick and John.

TINABA RELATIONSHIPS: SIMILARITY WITH *LALAGI* ON PENTECOST

On Pentecost Island there are relationships similar to *tinaba.* The wife of the sister's son is distinguished from other persons called *mabi* and is classed with the brother's wife (m.s.), the mother's brother's wife (m.s.), and the wife's sister, by the term *lalagi.*

TINABA: A CONJECTURAL HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

It has been shown that though it was a heinous offence for a father-in-law to take as *tinaba* his son's wife, yet there was no corresponding objection to the establishment of such a relationship between a boy and his wife's mother. In tracing the origin of *tinaba,* we must remember this important distinction. And in seeking for some mechanism through which the custom was embedded in a patrilineal and genealogical system of organizing marriage, we must also bear in mind the other peculiarities of the practice: first, that *tinaba* is a relationship contracted essentially between a woman and her mother-in-law's brothers to the exclusion of her father-in-law's brothers; and secondly, that in connection with the regulation of the custom

a standard of measurement, foreign to the ideas of the genealogical system, is used to measure the nearness or the distance of a girl from the *utu* into which she marries.

The mechanism sought will have to explain all these peculiarities and inconsistencies, and in so far as it is able to associate them all as the logical consequences of a single system, in just so far will it appeal to us as the true explanation of the facts.

The following hypothetical reconstruction is an attempt to summarize the historical circumstances which could give rise to the customary procedures relating to *tinaba* which we have found by observation and interrogation to be practised by the Gilbertese.

First stage

During the period of gerontocracy a young man went to beg a wife from his mother's brother.

The mother's brother granted one or two of his wives, but retained sexual rights over them. This was the basis of *tinaba.*

Second stage

Gradually the old men's power waned and the young men's increased. The young men were now in a position to demand younger wives, that is, the daughters of their mother's brothers.

Having taken these daughters to wife, they were sufficiently in power to retain still their sexual rights over their mothers-in-law. It is probable that a young man went to his mother's brother and demanded one of his younger wives who had a girl child. He would remove the mother and child to his own house and enjoy sexual relations with the mother until the child was old enough to cohabit with him. His mother's brother still, however, retained sexual rights over the elder woman.

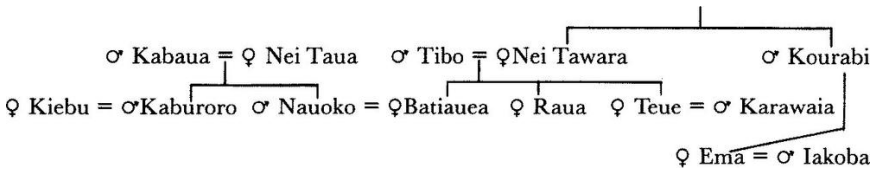
Third stage

At this stage the race practising this custom was overtaken by the invasion of a patrilineal race, having a genealogical system of marriage organization. In the fusion of systems a young man no longer went to his mother's brother's household for his wives, the idea of the cross-cousin marriage in particular being alien to the system of a genealogical people. He therefore sought his wives outside his circle of relations. But the other

characteristics of the habit remained. As the imported wives and mothers-in-law would then have no blood ties with the father's or mother's side of the young husband there was no reason why the same scheme of sexual relations as had before existed should not continue. A young man continued to claim sexual relations from his mother-in-law, and his mother's brothers continued to enjoy relations with his wife or wives, being now no longer restricted by the presence of their own daughters among these women.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *EIRIKI*

The *eiriki* of a man are (a) his brother's wives, and (b) his wife's sisters. The *eiriki* of a woman are (a) her sister's husband, and (b) her husband's brothers. The relationship is illustrated in the following pedigree:



In this pedigree, Nauoko and Batiauea are husband and wife. The *eiriki* of Nauoko are (a) Nei Kiebu (brother's wife), and (b) Raua, Teue, and Ema (wife's sisters). The *eiriki* of Batiauea are (a) Kaburoro (husband's brother) and (b) Karawaia and Iakoba (sisters' husbands). [9]

Before government intervention, sexual relations were generally permissible between persons who called each other *eiriki*. The term was and still is, applied by men to women, or women to men, whether sexual relations have been established or not.

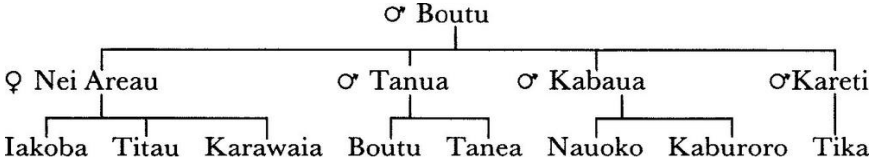
Eiriki *relations between brother's wife (m.s.) and husband's brother (w.s.)*

In the *eiriki* relationship a man could enter into sexual relations with a woman only if she was actually domiciled as a wife in the house of his brother. Thus Nauoko might approach his brother's wife Nei Kiebu, but not her sisters because they never lived with Kaburoro. Until the fact of domicile was established, Kaburoro was entitled to sexual relations with his wife's sisters to the ex-

clusion of all (even his eldest) brothers. But as soon as he might take one of them into his household as a companion to his ceremonial wife, she would become potential concubitant of his brothers, particularly of his eldest brother.

Eiriki *relations among brothers and their wives*

The rather complicated rights of concubitancy owned by men over their brothers' wives are best explained by a pedigree:



In this pedigree, the names are arranged in descending order of seniority, from left to right. The eight men calling each other brothers in the third generation are descended from a common grandfather, the eldest branch being descended through a woman, Nei Areau, the rest through men. I shall deal first with a single branch as a separate entity.

While Iakoba, the eldest son of Nei Areau, might, and in spite of all edicts still may, demand the right of concubitancy with the wives of Titau and Karawaia, his younger brothers may exact no such privilege from him in return. As the eldest brother, he will at his father's death become the *Unimane* 'Old Man' of this branch, and will then stand in a relation of quasi-parenthood to the rest of his father's issue. This raises his wife to the position and esteem of a potential mother in respect of the younger brothers of Iakoba, and although she is never accorded the title of *tina,* her status immunizes her from sexual relations or any other kind of familiarity with her husband's juniors.

As between junior brothers, no importance is attached to primogeniture. Thus, Karawaia may without shame make advances to the wife of Titau, his elder. Even should Iakoba die childless and Titau thus become *Unimane* in his stead, Karawaia would not break off the relations once established. But under these circumstances, Titau would infallibly in the old days have taken Iakoba's widow into his household, and she would be reserved for himself alone, thus maintaining the dignity of the

Unimane status. Similar rights and obligations of *eiriki* would be observed between uterine brothers in the other branches of the pedigree exhibited.

I have now to deal with the relations of branch to branch. The first observation to be made is that the eldest branch of Boutu's grandchildren traces descent through a woman. Its members therefore cannot belong to the same clan as the male branches because clan descent is patrilineal. And this debars Iakoba from assuming the title and prestige of *Unimane* of the whole group, as he would have done had he been descended through the eldest male. This status belongs to Boutu, the eldest son of the first-born male child of the common grandfather.

According to the custom of *eiriki,* Boutu's wife is immune not only from the advances of his uterine brother Tanea, but also from the solicitations of any other member of the group, including Iakoba. On the other hand, there is no single member whose wife he may not approach in sexual relations: none may deny him, on account of the filial respect that is due to the prospective head of the group.

Subject to this restriction, the junior members of the group may make whatever arrangements they please between themselves in the disposal of their wives. Primogeniture of parents is not taken into account among them. As a result of this, it follows that while Nauoko's wife is immune within the branch of her husband from the advances of Kaburoro, his uterine younger brother, she may yet be approached by Tika, a member of a junior branch, actually born some years after Kaburoro. The principle underlying this arrangement is very definite. It is that the native, while willing to admit the seniority of a uterine brother, will not acknowledge any other master of his own generation within his group except the one man upon whom the mantle of family *Unimane* has fallen.

I have often heard it questioned whether the issue of a woman, such as Iakoba and his brothers in the pedigree before us, have any right at all to claim *eiriki* rights over the wives of their cross-cousins (i.e., their mother's brothers' children). According to a good number of old men on more than one island, a man should strictly "follow his father": that is to say, he should enter into relations only with the wives of brothers on his father's side. And this reduces itself to a rule that the wives of clan-brothers are the only legitimate concubitants under the *eiriki* system.

A very striking thing has been said to me more than once in discussing the point: it was that "a man's mother would speak angrily" if her son's wife were approached by the boy's cross-cousin. Thus, for example, Nauoko's mother would speak angrily if his wife were approached by Iakoba. Now a man's father, and not his mother, is usually the spokesman when quarrels are forward in the Gilbertese family group. It is therefore worth enquiring why, in this particular set of conditions, the mother should thus exceptionally be the disputant on her son's behalf. If we imagine a society organized into two exogamous moieties with matrilineal descent, we have at once before us a set of circumstances in which the mother becomes of prime importance in the regulation of relations such as we are discussing. Because her son is descended through her into the moiety to which they both belong, she is the best judge of the wife he should marry, and the logical censor of the other people, if any, with whom such a wife should have relations. Whatever relations of domestic affection might exist between her husband and her son, the man, socially speaking, will have no voice in such matters, because he will be of the opposite moiety to the boy. Thus the mother is the only natural ally of her son when his wife's social virtue is threatened.

Looking at the matter now from another angle, we seem to find circumstances that fit in well with the picture of a dual system of social organization with matrilineal descent. Under such an organization the mother of Iakoba and the father of, let us say, Nauoko would belong through their mother to the same moiety; in the next generation Iakoba would descend into his mother's moiety again, but Nauoko into the opposite one, through his mother. Thus, when Nauoko married, he would take a girl from Iakoba's moiety, who could consequently never have sexual relations with Iakoba.

I suggest then that the widespread objection in the Gilberts against the entry of a man into sexual relations with the wife of his cross-cousin supports a reasonable conclusion that the custom of *eiriki* had its origin in a dual organization of society; and that the important part played by the mother in the regulation of the *eiriki* relation strongly indicates that descent in the supposed moieties was matrilineal.

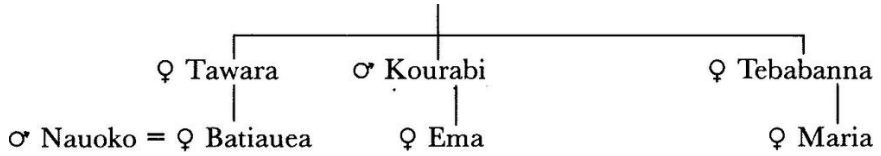
Procedure

To illustrate the procedure of a man who wished to enter into sexual relations with his brother's wife, I will quote from the actual course adopted by Nauoko. This man desired Nei Kiebu, the wife of his younger brother Kaburoro. He did not speak to his brother; such a course would have made them both ashamed, the theory being that the eldest would lose dignity in making a direct request to his junior. So Nauoko confessed his desire to his own wife, who carried a message to Nei Kiebu. His wife was not angry or jealous, because he spoke openly to her and did not hide his desire. Nei Kiebu refused the first request, as a matter of form, upon which Nauoko asked his mother to intercede. His mother spoke to Kaburoro himself, who said, "Tell my wife; it lies with her." So the mother spoke to her daughter-in-law, who accepted. Upon the establishment of these relations, Kaburoro pretended to know nothing about it. It would have been considered unsocial in him to have given a sign that he knew, as it might tend to make his elder brother feel ashamed. Further, his brother's name was never mentioned before him; and this was not to spare his feelings, but to avoid for him the temptation of feeling jealous and thus incurring the reproach of undutifulness towards his *Unimane.*

Eiriki *relations between wife's sisters and sister's husband*

As I have indicated before, the word *eiriki* is primarily a term of relationship, as now used, and does not necessarily connote sexual relations. Thus, although Nauoko calls Ema, his wife's first cousin (see the pedigree on page 188), *eiriki* and is so called by her, he is not considered to possess rights of intercourse with her; under the old law he would have to pay the usual land-forfeit for adultery to her husband if he made advances of a sexual nature to her.

The only persons in the pedigree (within the class which we are now discussing) over whom Nauoko can claim sexual rights are the uterine sisters of his wife, Raua and Teue. If his wife Batiauea had been the only child of her parents, he would, in the opinion of a few old men, have had nobody in this class of *eiriki* over whom he could strictly enforce a right of concubitancy. But on this point, I have heard a great deal of discussion, which luckily may be illustrated by a slight extension of the pedigree that I am using:



It is agreed by all, as I have already said, that Nauoko has no rights of concubitancy over Ema, his wife's first cousin through her mother's brother. I shall discuss the alleged reasons for this later. The point at issue is whether Nauoko is equally debarred from sexual relations with Maria, his wife's first cousin through her mother's sister. The enormous majority of old men say at once that he is not so debarred. They assert that, having married Batiauea he has the entire disposal of all the daughters of her mother's sister.

In the ordinary course of events, this would be perfectly natural, because Batiauea's mother and maternal aunt, being sisters by one father, would generally be the wives of a single man. Thus the children of the aunt would be Batiauea's half-sisters, and not her cousins. Under such conditions, Nauoko would without any doubt be entitled to hold them all as concubitants.

But as it happened, Tebabanna, the sister of Batiauea's mother, married separately; her husband and therefore her children belonged to a different clan from that of Tawara's husband and children. And there can be no doubt that in cases like this, the patrilineal habit of thought associated with clan organization has influenced public opinion to the extent of creating among the minority a feeling of uncertainty whether it is permissible or not for a man to have sexual relations with *eiriki* outside the clan of his wife. Nevertheless, if one takes a majority vote of old men to decide the issue, and makes a count of concrete cases available, there is not the slightest doubt that a man might and most frequently did claim concubitant rights with the daughters of his mother-in-law's sisters, even when they belonged to a different clan from that of his wife. And at the same time he refrained from sexual relations with the daughters of his mother-in-law's brother.

This brings us back to the matter which I reserved for discussion. If Nauoko may have relations with Maria, his wife's cousin through a maternal aunt, why is he debarred from the same relations with Ema, his wife's cousin through a maternal uncle? The answer generally given by an old man is rather dubious: "because Ema follows her father." This seems to have

reference again to the clan organization. Ema is descended through her father into a certain clan: Nauoko's wife is descended into another through hers. Therefore let Nauoko seek his concubitants among his wife's clan-sisters. But this, as we have seen, is inconsistent; for Maria is no more than Ema the clan-sister of Nauoko's wife, yet he may enforce his sexual rights upon her. Obviously, this again is a case in which a patrilineal mode of thought and an organization of society into clans have supervened upon some other scheme and caused a certain amount of incoherence. If the patrilineal clan system alone were responsible for the custom of *eiriki,* it is clear that there could be no confusion at all: Nauoko would be entitled neither to Ema nor to Maria; if Ema "follows her father," then equally Maria follows hers, and both are inaccessible.

Admittedly, the following is just possible. It may be that the marriage of two sisters, such as Tawara and Tebabanna, to a single husband was in earlier days an absolute rule; that public opinion then gradually changed so far as to permit them to marry different men, but that it still recognized a particularly close link of sisterhood between their daughters. But in such circumstances, it is difficult to understand why there is no special term to classify together the daughters of such sisters, and also why there is no corresponding link of intimacy between their sons.

I think that the fewest objections are encountered, and the clearest reconciliation of all inconsistencies is achieved, on the hypothesis that the custom of *eiriki* owes its origin to a system foreign to the patrilineal clan organization. Consistently with former conjectures, I suggest again that it belongs to a dual organization of society into moieties with matrilineal descent. Under such a system, the three parents Tawara, Kourabi, and Tabebanna, being brother and sisters, belong let us say to moiety *A.* The children of the two women, Batiauea and Maria, will descend through their mothers into the same moiety. But the man must seek his wife in moiety *B,* to which Ema will therefore belong. Now Nauoko must also necessarily belong to *B,* otherwise he could not marry Batiauea of *A:* thus he is absolutely debarred from sexual relations with Ema; while nothing prevents him from approaching Maria, since she is of the same moiety as his wife.

Thus inconsistencies, which appear illogical when examined from the standpoint of a patrilineal clan organization, cease to be inconsistencies at all in respect of a society having matrilineal moieties.

The full suggestion, then, that I feel justified in making after an examination of the practices connected with *eiriki* is that a certain section of the Gilbertese ancestors once lived in a society which was divided into two exogamous moieties, in which descent was matrilineal. Impinging upon this order came a band of immigrants, whose social organization was based upon the clan, into which descent was patrilineal. The two races thus brought into contact by the immigration eventually fused, and during the fusion the social organization of the conquerors suffered modification through the absorption of indigenous practices. Nominally, the clan organization and patrilineal descent were still supreme, but, probably on account of the scarcity of women among the immigrants, many of the customs connected with marriage were adopted from the dual people. These, though long assimilated into the patrilineal system, have never been so well digested as to make a perfect mixture; thus inconsistencies are apparent still, which become only the more salient when attempts are made to explain them according to patrilineal modes of reasoning.

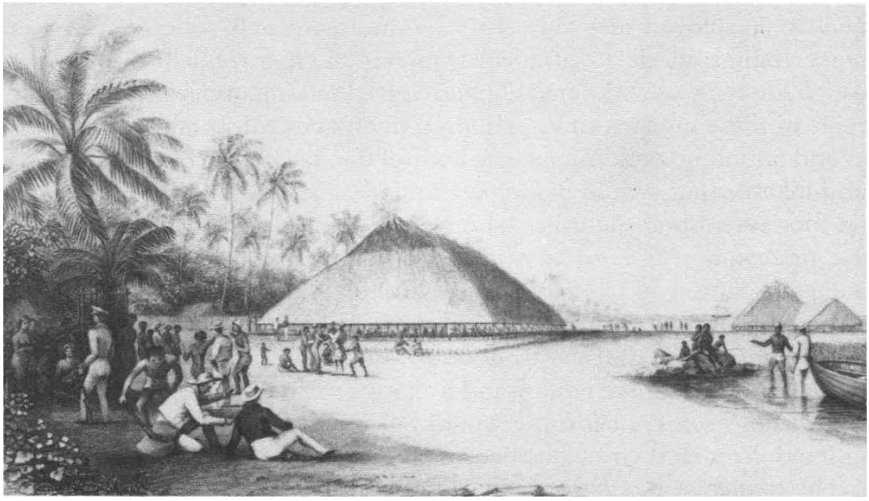
Tauanikai *and* eiriki

While the term *eiriki* includes persons who can have no sexual relations with each other, the name *tauanikai* is applied by a man to that class of *eiriki* who are his potential wives. The *tauanikai* of a man are the own sisters of his wife, and the daughters of her mother's sister. [10]

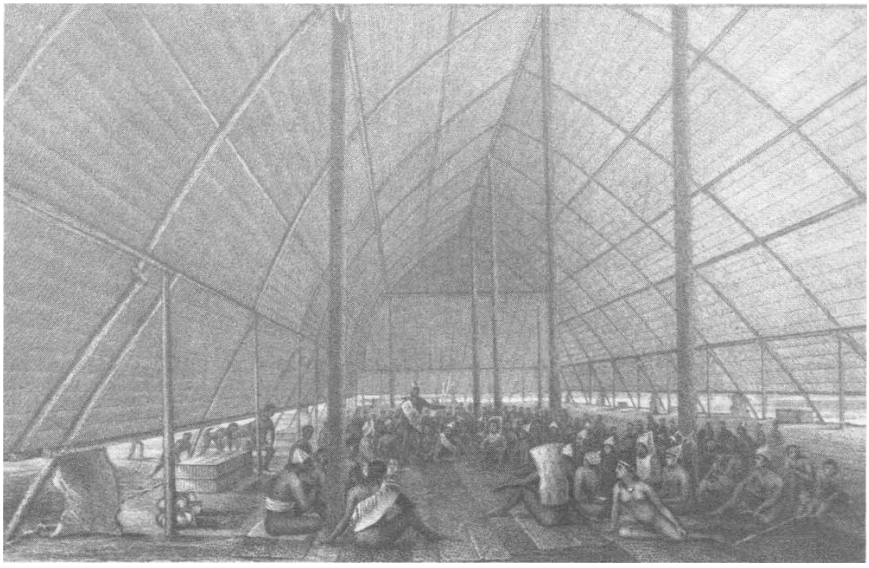
PART 2
The Maneaba

The Function of the Maneaba in Gilbertese Society

The importance of the maneaba in the life of a Gilbertese community could not escape the most casual observer. This great thatched edifice is patently the focus of social life in every village. [1] It is the meeting house where two, or twenty, or two hundred villagers will naturally foregather to discuss any sort of project; it is the common ground where the conflicting interests of individual households or factions are debated and arbitrated; it is the dancing lodge, the amusement hall, the news market of the community; and it is the resort of the aged men and women of the race, who daily repair to that sanctuary of peaceful gloom, and there, each seated on his mat with fly-whisk busily flicking, exchange in interminable mumbles their reminiscences of a bygone day.



The maneaba at Utiroa, Tabiteuea, 1841. (Wilkes, 5:52)



The interior of the maneaba at Utiroa, Tabiteuea, 1841. (Wilkes, 5:56)

This is all on the surface. As evidence of the general social importance of the maneaba, it is not misleading; but as an indication of the special uses of the edifice in past days it is deceptive and inadequate. The gradual decay of native custom, and its generalization, under the influence of foreign ideas for the past thirty years, is responsible for a change in the maneaba's "centre of gravity." While it has gained in breadth of meaning to the modern native, it has lost in depth of special significance. For example, its application to modern uses has enhanced its character of convenience, and reduced almost to nothing its sacred quality. Employed nowadays as an amusement hall, where crowds of noisy youngsters sit down to cards or skittles, it is robbed of that awe, which not long ago inhibited all loud-voiced talking under the venerable roof. In these modern times, children of all ages run shouting in bands in and out of the building, at any hour of the day. In the old days, it was unthinkable that a child of any age under puberty should be allowed to set foot even upon the *marae* 'shingled open space', which surrounded the maneaba. *"E rawa te maneaba ni matauninga irouia ataei"* ("The maneaba refuses to be offended by children") was the expression used by seniors; for all shouting, all unseemly behaviour, every attitude or word that was not marked by decency and decorum, was considered a

cause of offence to the edifice and a danger to the community at large, upon whom some misfortune would fall if the dignity of the maneaba suffered through their negligence.

The maneaba was indeed an assembly room and, in some sense, an amusement hall before the government; but the assemblies and amusements held therein were of a most formal character, ordained not carelessly for a few people, on a light occasion, but after debate by the senior men, for the whole community of adults, and for some motive that touched the social life of an important group of people. *"Nnen te taeka ma te kimareirei ae kakannato te maneaba"* ("The maneaba is the container of exalted words and amusements"): games having a definite social significance such as the *katikiao,* performed when an important man's daughter had reached the age of puberty, were fit to be shown in the maneaba; feasts at a birth, a marriage, or a death were held there, as were also debates on war or peace; and there would take place any discussions concerning the interests of individuals or groups, which threatened to become troublesome to the community. In the maneaba too would be considered matters of general interest, such as the preparations for a harvest of coconuts or pandanus fruit or the steps to be taken on the stranding of a shoal of porpoises—a most prized delicacy—on the foreshores of the district. And all these amusements, feasts, and debates were conducted in accordance with a fixed and rigid ceremonial. There was only one side, the west, from which the building might be entered. There was a first speaker and a second speaker; there was a hereditary blower of the conch that called the assembly; a divider of the feast; a carrier of portions, and so on.

All these duties and privileges were the sacred inheritances of the various social groups which took their seats in the maneaba. Any man who assumed a function that did not belong to his group was believed to be liable to sudden and mortal sickness: the maneaba was *matauninga* 'offended' with him; he was *maraia* 'accursed'; he would die before the moon changed.

Everything therefore that took place in the maneaba was subject to the strictest ceremonial rules under the most definite religious sanctions; and everything that carried with it an informal atmosphere, such as the sports of wrestling, of hide-and-seek, or other games of their nature, was banned from those precincts. It may be said that only such acts as lent themselves to a solemn ritual and possessed a definite social significance were permissible in the maneaba. And in this narrow sense alone can the building be described as a social hall.

A few remnants of the respect once paid to the maneaba are still to be discovered. A child kicking the kerb of coral that is set up under the eaves is reproved by its parents: “Don’t offend the maneaba. You will fall sick and die.” Not many natives would yet dare to strike with stick or hand any of the posts that support the roof, for fear of the same fate. In the days before the government, if a man were seen to lift his hand against any part of the edifice, it was the duty of all bystanders to thrash him and trample him underfoot. If they failed to perform this duty, they would be considered accessory to the sacrilege and subject to any misfortune that might result from it. Even were the offender beaten to death, his relations would not dare to object; for it was believed that had the dead man been suffered to live by his assailants, he would in any case most probably have died later on as a result of his crime.

On most islands of the Gilbert Group there is at least one maneaba used as a *bange* ‘common sanctuary’, where any man beaten in battle may be safe from his enemies. No aggressor would dare to violate such sanctuary, the belief having been that should he so outrage the peace of the place his skin would be stricken with tumid swellings *(te rabarabataki)* and he would die in pain.

But it is to be observed that the buildings around such a maneaba generally shared this character of inviolability, and even for a man to stand on the ground in their neighbourhood was enough to save him from his pursuers. Further, there are many plots of land in the Gilberts, whereon neither house nor maneaba ever stood, which were common sanctuaries in past times. For these reasons it seems probable that maneaba, which came to be recognized as refuges, acquired their inviolability not as a result of their own special sanctity but as a consequence of some tradition connected with the ground on which they stood. On the islands of Butaritari, Abaiang, and Abemama, where there were dynasties of high chiefs, it is certain that extraneous circumstances did actuate the conversion of particular maneaba into refuges for the pursued; for on those islands it was always the high chief’s maneaba that served as the asylum; and it acquired this character not because of its inherently sacred character as a building but because it belonged to the chief, whose peace and clemency must, in theory, be as a covering to all men.

Nevertheless, any and every maneaba was in a more limited sense a sanctuary. Among people of the same settlement, who shared the same maneaba, no violence must be done within the

revered precincts (with the exception, of course, of such violence as might be visited on an offender against the building itself). And so, if matter of bitter dispute arose within that community, a man or woman in fear of injury might take refuge there. Advantage was often taken of this protection by children who stubbornly set their face against a marriage planned by their parents and feared the evil (even to the point of being beaten to death) that might result. Wives of jealous husbands would also often escape harm by remaining in the maneaba until their lord's anger was abated. For whatever the strength of the motive that might incite a man to violence, his awe of the maneaba would certainly inhibit him.

On the islands of Marakei, Abaiang, Maiana, Beru, and Tabiteuea, this duty of seemly and reverential deportment towards the building is explained by the Old Men in a single phrase: *"Iai Tai i nanon te maneaba"* ("There is Sun in the maneaba"). On Marakei a variant was given by the old man Takeuta, who said: *"Bon rokin Tai ma Namakaina te maneaba"* ("The maneaba is indeed the screened enclosure of Sun and Moon"). In other words, the maneaba is the House of the Sun, according to the majority; and of the Moon as well, according to the report of a single authority. It was believed that all sanctions that might ensue upon an act of disrespect against the structure were visited upon the offender direct from the Sun himself, who pierced the navel of his victim with fire.

In view of the researches that are being continually made into the sun-cults of Oceania, and of the only partial success with which they are crowned, this is a vitally interesting series of beliefs. It would be sufficiently arresting if it stood alone, but it is far from being the only evidence connecting the maneaba with the sun. In the ceremonial magic used during the construction of this building we have direct evidence of a most indubitable nature associating it with the sun. There seems to be little room for doubt that the maneaba, as an original part of the culture of the Gilbertese forebears, was a temple, and a temple of the sun. [2]

VARIOUS TYPES OF MANEABA

The usual type of maneaba now seen in the Gilbertese villages is a building whose breadth is rather less than half its length, having a height not quite equal to its breadth. It consists of an enormous thatch, with gable ends, supported on studs of coral

rock from three to five feet high. The eaves come down to within two or three feet of the ground, so that a man has to bend in order to enter the building. The ridge-pole is supported by a row of posts running down the centre of the building (the middle of the interior). In a large maneaba the rafters are also supported half-way up their length by a beam raised on a row of shorter posts.

In pre-government days the gables of this building were invariably north and south, the long sides being thus to east and west: no other orientation was ever used. Nowadays, the government having concentrated the villages along the lagoon shores, the orientation of the edifice varies according to locality. Frequently, indeed, the north-south position is possible, as the islands themselves lie as a rule roughly north and south, with lagoons to westward; maneaba must needs lie east-west in order to follow the line of their villages where the end of the land curves westward. Nevertheless, I shall hereafter speak as if the building was always in its ancient orientation.

Though the usual ratio of breadth to length in the maneaba now seen is roughly 1 to 2, there was more diversity in the old days. There were three chief styles, each having its own name, and each distinguished by the proportion of its breadth to its length. They were as follows:

> Tabiang, the narrowest, about half as broad as it was long; Maungatabu, with a breadth about three-quarters of its length; Tabontebike, foursquare, with a “hip” roof, not conical.

It is said that on Beru were built the first three maneaba of historical times, by the newly arrived conquerors from Samoa, some twenty generations ago. Before that date, the inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands had “other sorts of maneaba.” Tradition leaves no doubt that the Samoan invasion also affected many other islands besides Beru, but history is silent concerning the maneaba built by the conquerors on them. It was the wholesale conquest of the group, from Arorae in the south to Marakei in the north, some eight or nine generations afterwards by Beru warriors, which led to the obliteration of most other names and styles that may have existed elsewhere, and to the establishment of the three Beru styles now known. [3]

There were, however, three islands of the group that were left untouched by the Beru warriors, namely Butaritari, Makin, and Banaba, and on these we should expect to find variant

types. It is quite certain that the Banaban maneaba had characteristics differing from the Beru styles, although the differences were not so much of construction as of internal economy. But there is not now living a single Banaban native who can give an intelligible account of the maneaba used on this island in the old days. On Butaritari and Makin, though the modern native is now much influenced by traffic with other islands, it is still remembered that the ancient maneaba was a Maungatabu building with a "hip" roof, not a conical thatch, and was called *Makua-te-rara* 'the high tide of blood'. Further allusion will be made to this style later on.

The maneaba of Beru were classified not only according to the ratio borne by breadth to length; there were also nine different styles of roof, differentiated solely by the height of their pitch. Of these the lowest was called Tauata, and the rest, in ascending order of height Tokaboua, Tokamaomao, Ngaoniio, Numawete, Kariaba, Teieta, Taberan te Kai, and Kariamatang respectively. The correct allocation of a maneaba to its particular class is therefore effected by an association of the term connoting its pitch of roof with the name connoting the proportion of its breadth to its length. Thus the narrowest style of maneaba with the highest type of roof would be called Tabiang-Kariamatang, and so on.

THE MANEABA AS AN INDEX TO SOCIAL GROUPINGS

A survey of Gilbertese social organization outside the maneaba would lead us to the conclusion that the *utu,* consisting of blood relations on both the father's and mother's side, is the unique basis of the structure. [4] Within this group, though inheritance and succession are clearly dominated by patrilineal ideas, an examination of the functional aspects of relationship seems to indicate a development upon which the preponderant influence has been matrilineal.

In the *utu,* therefore, we have a distinct compromise between the elements of mother-right and father-right. We shall find very little of such a compromise in the social groupings connected with the maneaba. These groupings, which evidence will show to be underlaid by the idea of descent from the totem, are unmistakably controlled by the patrilineal idea.

If one frequents the maneaba to talk to the old people who are always to be found there, a few visits acquaint one with the fact that the same man always sits in the same part of the building. It was the physical inconvenience of this that first brought the circumstances to my attention. It seemed strangely inconsistent that a few old men, repairing to the maneaba apparently for the sake of companionship, should separate at entrance and habitually assume seats in positions so widely sundered that conversation became difficult or impossible. What stimulated my earliest questions was to observe, on the island of Onotoa, that a particular elder, well known to me, would regularly take his place within a few feet of an especial enemy, while his *ingoa* 'namesake' and therefore sworn friend, just as regularly sat at a distance of twenty yards from him.

It was explained that these old men were sitting in their *boti,* the hereditary sitting-places of their fathers and fathers' fathers, under the prescribed *inaki* 'thatch-rows' of the maneaba. And it appeared that to sit in any other place would be to court sickness and death.

It was unquestionably as *nen te boti* 'the container of the sitting-places', that the maneaba was most vitally significant to the Gilbertese people. Far more than a place of social festivities or a hall of debate, it was a tabernacle of the ancestors in the male line, a sort of social map, where a man's group or clan could be recognized the moment he took his seat, his totem and his ascendants known, and his ceremonial duties or privileges discovered.

There is still plenty of information available as to the distribution of the *boti.* This is one of the branches of knowledge still valued by modern generations, for it is found to be extremely useful in inter-island travel. A native having no near relations on an island where he is on a visit, will go to the nearest maneaba and sit in his ancestral room. There he will continue to seat himself daily, until the local members of that *boti* "lift up the word to him." Then, the following conversation will take place:

"Sir, whence come you?"

"I come from such and such an island."
"Where are you sitting?"
"I am sitting in such and such a *boti*."
"Why do you do that?"
"It is our *boti*."
"Whose *boti?*"
"My father's and my grandfather's."

A boti Elder (Unimane) dressed for a maneaba ceremonial. Note whale's teeth necklace and fine mat. (Maude photo)

"Who is your father?"
"So and so."
"Aia" (equivalent to "Ah, yes, I see").
After a silence, the questionnaire proceeds:
"Perhaps this is not your father's *boti?*"
"Sir, it is indeed my father's *boti*."
"Ata. "
Another silence, and then:
"For what was the *riki* 'origin' of your father?"
"So and so was his ancestor."
"*Anaia* 'take it up', for we listen." [5]

Then the stranger must tell the tale of his father's generations back to the common ancestor of the *boti,* while his audience gravely attends. Having satisfied them that he has not committed the offence of trespass upon their sitting-room, he is ac-

cepted as *taria* ‘their brother’ for the duration of his stay on the island; very often, a married couple of riper years, one of whom is a member of the *boti,* will appoint themselves his *karo* ‘parents’ and may make him a member of the household. In any case, having established his group membership, he will be fed by his clansmen until he leaves and probably provided with a respectable present of money at departure.

So keenly were the obligations of *boti*-relationship felt in past days, that Islanders would strip their plantations and empty their *babai* pits for visiting clansmen from other atolls rather than risk the reproach of having failed in the duty of *karokaro.* [6] This spirit is still very strong in the race. Such is the pauperizing effect of the native’s lavish bounty under its dictates, that the government has found it necessary to make special regulations for the curtailment of inter-island visits.

It is the utility of the institution, no doubt, that has caused it to resist better than others the inroads of civilization. Its persistence makes it a fairly easy task on most islands to find the positions of the various *boti* in the maneaba. These may be far more clearly indicated in a sketch-plan than in words (Figure 13).

In Figure 13, the shaded margin represents the overhang of the eaves outside the building. The short strokes crossing the margin are the ends of the rafters projecting over the roof-plates. The roof-plates themselves are indicated by the straight inner lines of the margin, the small rectangles over which these pass being the studs of coral rock upon which they rest.

It will be noted that some of the studs have names. That in the middle of the east side is called Tai ‘the Sun’; directly opposite which, in the west side, is Namakaina ‘the Moon’. At the south-east corner is Nei Tituabine, who was one of the chief goddesses of the Gilbertese pantheon and an ancestress. At the north-east corner is Tabakea, also a god and ancestor. Teikake, in the middle of the south end, is the representative of the person of that name who appears in the story of Tewatu ni Matang. Tabiang, in the middle of the north end, takes the name of the *boti* within which it stands. These named studs were the particular care and pride of the members of those *boti* possessing them.

The limits of the various *boti,* each of which is named, are indicated in Figure 13 by the dotted lines running inwards from the roof plates. Notice that the distribution of the *boti* is based upon the rafters in this particular case. Thus, Tabiang has three rafter intervals allotted to it, Te Bakabaka five, and so on. But, if the maneaba were a small one and the rafters consequently

fewer, the allocation of *boti* would be established upon the *inaki* ‘thatch-rows of the roof’, or simply “fitted in,” according to the space requirements of the various clans. [7] But the actual order of distribution would not change in either maneaba nor would considerations of spacing ever be strong enough to separate a clan from one of the named studs, if it possessed one. Thus, however numerous might happen to be the representatives of the three *boti* between Keaki and Karongoa n Uea at a particular reunion, they would have to crush themselves somehow into that space, for Keaki remained unshakably anchored to its corner-stone of Tituabine, and Karongoa n Uea to its Sun stone by the middle rafter. The actual maneaba from which Figure 13 was taken, is a building faithfully constructed in the Maungatabu style, on the island of Marakei. The master-architect was Takeuta, an old man of about seventy years, who built as he had been taught by his grandfather and whose knowledge of the building craft brought disciples from islands as far south as Nonouti to learn from him. The authorities responsible for the allocation of the *boti* in the order pictured were thirty-five elders of the island, elected by the inhabitants as native delegates on a Lands Commission. The chart therefore represents the collective knowledge of the island’s chosen spokesmen, every man of whom was of fighting age in the wars preceding the hoisting of the British flag in 1892. The distribution of the *boti* in the Tabiang style of maneaba is identical with that in the Maungatabu. [8]

It is obvious that all the *boti* shown may not necessarily be found on every island, and conversely those exhibited in the diagram do not completely exhaust the tale of the divisions discoverable; for a given ancestor may not have descendants in the male line on every island. If a gap is made by the extinction of a clan on an island, the members of the *boti* on either side of it will naturally close up and efface the scar, and gradually the name of that clan-place will be forgotten. Some secondary migration, after centuries, may again bring people of this group to the island; they will look for their place in the maneaba. Suppose then that the groups that have drawn together over their clan-place are unfamiliar to the returned people. The result may be that instead of claiming the ancient position between them, the newcomers will take a place to one side or the other, which more or less coincides with the spot they have been used to on their own islands. From causes of such a nature, no doubt, spring the slight variations in relative position of the lesser-known *boti,* noticed from island to

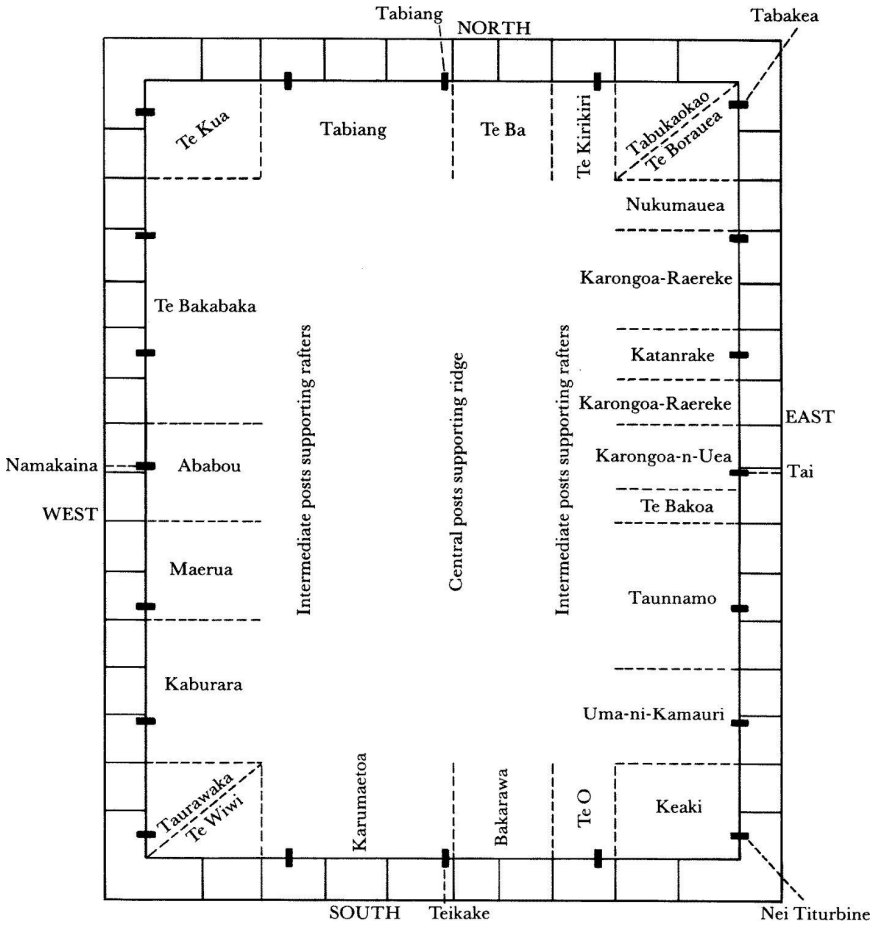


Figure 13. Plan of the Maungatabu-style maneaba

island. But the situations of the better-known sitting-places in the Tabiang and Maungatabu maneaba are changeless: Karongoa n Uea is unfailingly under the middle rafter of the eastern side; Te Bakoa always flanks it on the south, and Karongoa Raereke on the north. Tabiang, Keaki, Ababou, Te Kua, Kurumaetoa, and Kaburara will everywhere be found in the places allocated to them on the diagram.

The Tabontebike maneaba, however, has a different arrangement of its *boti*. The most striking point of variation, as will be seen by the *boti* plan (Figure 14), is that the sitting-places of Karongoa n Uea, with several of its nearer neighbours, are not on the eastern side but under the northern gable of the

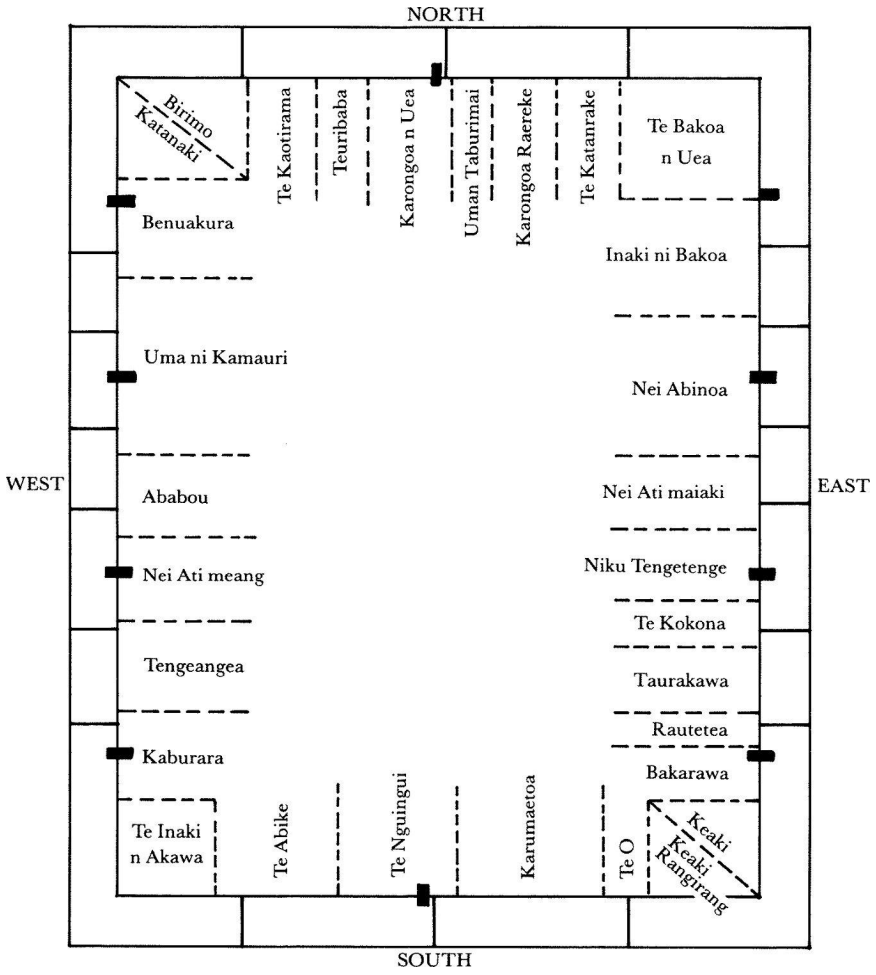


Figure 14. Plan of the Tabontebike-style maneaba

edifice. [9] Another notable difference is that the *boti* of Tabiang, Te Kirikiri, and Te Ba, which occupy the northern gable in the other two types of maneaba, are non-existent in the Tabontebike building. This is not to be explained by a parallel non-existence of these clans on the island of Beru where the plan was made: all three are strongly represented there. [10] There is simply no place for them in the maneaba of Tabontebike. It would therefore appear probable that, whatever branch of the

race-forefathers it may have been that introduced the Tabontebike syle of edifice into the Gilberts, it was a swarm that did not contain representatives of these three clans.

THE *BOTI* IN THE MANEABA OF BUTARITARI AND MAKIN

In the maneaba on the islands of Butaritari and Makin there are but four divisions, as shown in Figure 15.

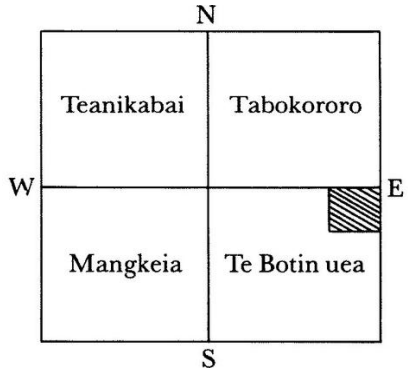


Figure 15. Plan of boti divisions in the maneaba of Butaritari and Makin

According to local tradition the maneaba was divided into these quarters to provide sitting-rooms for the four different grades of society.

1. *Te Botin uea* '*the-boti*-of kings' was allocated to the *uea,* or high chief, with all the members of his *utu* descended through males. It was the south-east quarter. South of the middle of the east side (the shaded spot in the diagram) was the sitting-place especially reserved for the *uea* himself, with his own brothers and sisters. The position of this spot corresponds with that of Karongoa n Uea in the maneaba of Tabiang and Maungatabu on other islands, except that it is to the south instead of the north of the central stone stud. This central stud is in the *uea*'s sitting-place and is called Nei Tituabine. It will be remembered that the stone called Tituabine in other maneaba is in the south-east corner, being contained in the *boti* of Keaki. This is important.

2. *Tabokororo* in the north-east quarter, was reserved for *toka* 'chiefs' and their *utu* through male lines.
3. *Teanikabai* was given over to "people who were conquered," that is, those of the slave class, through male lines.
4. *Mangkeia* was called "the *boti* of *aba- tera*," the *boti* of "what-land?" which is to say that it was the sitting-place of any stranger who came and settled upon the islands.

It is obvious that, whatever may have been the origin of the grouping revealed, its organization was fundamentally patrilineal.

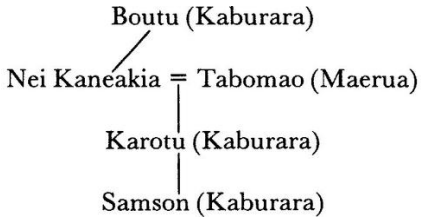
DESCENT IN THE *BOTI*

As I have already indicated in a general way, descent, determining membership of the social group possessing a given *boti,* is reckoned patrilineally in all islands. This was well illustrated by a dispute submitted to my arbitration when I was on Beru. An elderly man named Rioiti claimed membership of the *boti* Karongoa n Uea, which had consistently been denied his ascendants in the male line for several successive generations. He provided me with a list of twenty lineal ascendants, alleged to be males back to his ancestor Kirata the First, a semi-mythical chief of Tarawa, known to be of the Karongoa n Uea group. None disputed the authenticity of the names he furnished; issue was joined on a point of sex. It was argued by the opposition that an ascendant in the sixth generation back from Rioiti, named Tearoko, was not a man but a woman. Under these circumstances, it was insisted, Rioiti must count his *boti* descent, not from Tearoko, but from her husband, who belonged to the Ababou group. Rioiti himself admitted that such reasoning would have been perfectly just had Tearoko been indeed a woman; his whole argument was limited to showing that this person had been a man.

This brings out very clearly the predominance of the patrilineal idea in matters relating to *boti* descent.

There are certain exceptions in practice, but one of these at least serves only to emphasize the importance of descent in the male line. If a man has only girl children he may legitimately arrange that one or several of his male grandchildren through

these daughters be made a member of his *boti*. In the pedigree shown below, Boutu was a near relation of the high chiefs of Abemama, whose *boti* is Kaburara.



Boutu's sole child was a girl, Kaneakia, who married Tabomao of the Maerua clan. Under ordinary circumstances, the single grandchild of Boutu's male representatives in this group, the grandson Karotu, was nominated a member of Kaburara. This, while being an exception to the rule that a man descends into the *boti* of his father, still lays peculiar stress upon the patrilineal idea, in that it is a special expedient for keeping a male line intact, even in default of sons. Another exceptional practice is resorted to when a man has a large family of children. If the members of his *boti* are already numerous, and there is danger of overcrowding, it will be arranged that several of his children take the *boti* of their mother. *Te tabo ni kamawa botin tinam* 'a place to make room, the *boti* of your mother', is a well-known phrase throughout the Gilberts. But although there have been occasions when sons have been nominated, under such conditions, to their mother's *boti,* the general practice has always been to transfer the daughters by preference, and in no case would the eldest son be removed from his father's group for the mere purposes of making room. The attendant conditions of this practice are therefore seen to accent the importance of the patrilineal idea.

A boy or girl adopted either as *nati* 'child' or *tibu* 'grandchild' sometimes, though rarely, takes the *boti* of the adopter. If, as was generally the case formerly, the adopted was of the *utu* of the adopter, he would often be already a member of the same group; but he might be a relation descended through a female branch and so into a different *boti.* In this case, after adoption, he would become in the maneaba to all intents a stranger to his own father's clan and a full member of his adopter's. But if the bond of adoption was broken, as sometimes happened, by

some serious quarrel, he could return to his father's group, and such a return constituted the best outward and visible sign of the rupture.

Another case in which the mother's *boti* becomes of importance must be noted. When a native on his travels comes to an island or village where his father's group is not represented, he will often use his mother's as a "second string," if he desires to establish relations with people of that place. Having proved his mother's right of membership in the given *boti* he will usually be received hospitably by her clansmen, but the obligation will not be felt nearly so keenly by the latter as it would have been felt in the case of a paternal link; the entertainment provided will not as a rule (though there are exceptions) be of a lavish sort, and indeed no great reproach seems to be incurred if the newcomer is entirely neglected. This holds good even though the candidate for their hospitality has on his own island definitely gone over from his father's to his mother's *boti.* The transfer of children from the paternal to maternal groups is therefore seen to be of only local effect; thus viewed, this modification of the patrilineal scheme seems to have its origin in a motive of pure convenience, namely, the provision of decent sitting-space in the maneaba. No doubt such a modification became possible only as the result of an extraneous influence, which overcame the original conservatism of the patrilineal idea; and this influence was probably the conception of mother-right which seems to have affected the functional aspect of relationship in the Gilbertese *utu.* But only in this indirect way has the matrilineal system interfered with the organization of the *boti,* of which the essentially patrilineal mould seems to contain hardly any relic of the customs of a folk who practised mother-right.

Nevertheless, a fact of apparent significance will be noted from the table of Gilbertese clans (see Table 5). In this table no fewer than six groups are seen to claim a female ancestry. Te Bakabaka, Kaburara, and Keaki have Nei Tituabine; Tabukaokao has Nei Tenaotarai; Bakarawa has Nei Moaine; and Katannaki has Nei Tamaiti. At first sight this would seem to indicate that matrilineal ideas made themselves felt at some early period in the history of the *boti* organization, which I have supposed to be almost purely patrilineal. But certain considerations suggest that this may not be the true meaning of the facts.

It must be observed that these ancestresses are also regarded as deities, as indeed are all except three or four of the ancestors recorded. In the traditions connected with the early

arrivals from Samoa, the names of gods are often obviously used instead of the names of the actual persons who arrived. Thus we are told that Taburimai came to Tarawa, Tituabine to Nikunau, Tabuariki to Beru, and so on, whereas what is meant is that groups of people linked together by a common cult of these beings came from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands. That such a meaning is indeed intended to be conveyed is clear from numerous parallelisms of tradition, where there exist side by side two accounts of the same migration story, one told in terms of a deity and the other about a man and his followers. For example, there is a well-known story of an ancestor called Baretoka, the son of a man named Kourabi in Samoa, who fled with his people in very early days to Tarawa after a domestic quarrel, and there married a woman named Batiauea. This tale has a parallel version, recounting exactly the same facts, but making the god Taburimai the hero, instead of the human Baretoka. As a result of the same tendency, without a doubt, it is still the common practice among older natives of today, to refer to groups of people, and individuals also, by the names of their deities. *"Tabuariki te koraki aei"* ("this group is Tabuariki"), or *"Nei Tituabine teuarei"* ("that man is Nei Tituabine") are idioms used to indicate that this group or that individual observe the cult of such and such a god. More pertinently still to our subject, one may hear *"E tekateka Tituabine i Bairiki"* ("Tituabine sits at Bairiki"), meaning that the people who "sit" or live in the village of Bairiki observe the cult of the goddess Tituabine. Very clearly in this last example is the name of the deity used to connote a whole group of living people who practise her cult.

A striking and, I think, essential characteristic of the modern use of a god's name to connote a single individual is that the person thus designated is nearly always the senior living representative of his cult. As such, he is the officiator at all ceremonials connected with the worship of the god, and the inheritor of the *maka* 'power' which emanates from such a being. As a medium between the spirit and its devotees he therefore assumes the personality of godhead; for the time being he actually is the god. It is a perfectly natural result of such intimacy of association that he should frequently be designated by the name of the deity. [11] This, I believe, is the explanation of the use in tradition of the name of a god instead of the name of the actual ancestor who performed a given series of feats.

We are now in a position to suggest an explanation of the fact, apparently at variance with patrilineal ideas, that not a few *boti* in the Gilbertese maneaba claim descent from women. The

names of these women are the same as those of the deities of the *boti*. It seems to me highly probable that just as heroes of tradition are often designated by the names of their gods, and just as a man of today may be alluded to by the name of a confessedly female deity, so the names of what were in reality male ancestors may be veiled by those of the respective goddesses whom they represented on earth in the early days of *boti* organization. This is the solution which, I feel, certainly applies to the goddess Tituabine, but an alternative mechanism suggests itself by which it was possible for women to become *boti* ancestresses in a patrilineal organization without the intrusion of matrilineal elements into the system. We have only to suppose that the people who introduced the *boti* organization into the Gilberts brought with them on their migration a limited number of women belonging to their own race (which is in itself a highly probable surmise), and a very simple scheme at once presents itself. If we imagine that several of these immigrant women were given away as wives to men of the indigenous race and had children by them, we can picture a new problem arising. To what *boti* should the children be nominated? Their mothers and, without a doubt, the whole immigrant community would naturally wish to see them identified with the social system of the invaders, but yet they could inherit no sitting-place through their indigenous fathers. The only way of retaining them as members of the immigrant group would be to allow them to reckon descent through their mothers, and the natural method of arranging this would be to create new *boti* in the maneaba with immigrant women as ancestresses.

A circumstance that would conspire to abet a new departure of this sort springs at once to the imagination. If the social system to which the indigenous fathers of such children belonged were a matrilineal organization, it is clear that from the paternal side no place in the aboriginal community could be inherited by the half-blood progeny. By all the precepts of a matrilineal community the child looks to the mother to establish membership of the group. Thus every circumstance would conspire to thrust the children back into the immigrant camp and to oblige the patrilineal community to think of some expedient to meet the situation.

It is true that if matrilineal ideas thus contributed an impulse towards the establishment of this new feature of *boti* organization, they cannot be wholly ignored as agents in the mutation; but their agency was catalytic, in that they left none of their own elements embedded in the system whose change

they stimulated. Thus, if my alternative suggestion to account for the presence of women among the ancestors of patrilineal groups is true, we have before us an example of social modification under external pressure, rather than the absorption of the constituent parts of one system into another.

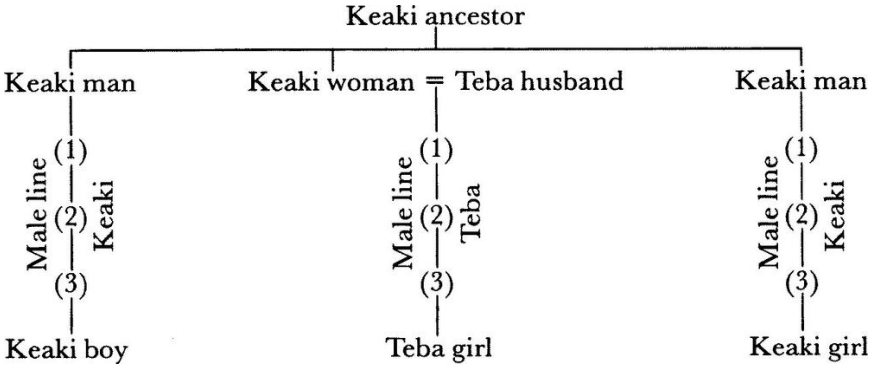
It is possible that this modification of the scheme of male ancestors may be due to a combination of both series of causation which I have proposed. In some cases it may have been brought about by the substitution of a goddess's name for that of the male ancestor who observed her cult; in others by the problems facing an immigrant people after the marriage of their women with aboriginals. If this double origin is considered probable (and I myself incline to this opinion) we are offered interesting food for thought concerning the cult of the god and the ancestor, for it is clear that in the one set of circumstances the god has become, to all intents and purposes, the ancestor, while in the other the ancestor must have developed into the god.

MARRIAGE AND THE *BOTI* ORGANIZATION

At first sight it would seem that the only consideration of relationship affecting marriage in the Gilberts emanated from the broad conception of the *utu,* as a member of which a man reckoned kinship through both his father and his mother. As a generalization, this surmise would be correct, because the *utu* of any individual must necessarily also contain all the members of his *boti* who are connected with him on his father's side; but it serves to conceal the special importance of the clan in the regulation of marriage. Since we have seen that the organization of the *utu* has been affected by matrilineal influence, it is all the more necessary that we should disengage the ideas concerning marriage that are attributable to the patrilineal clan system alone.

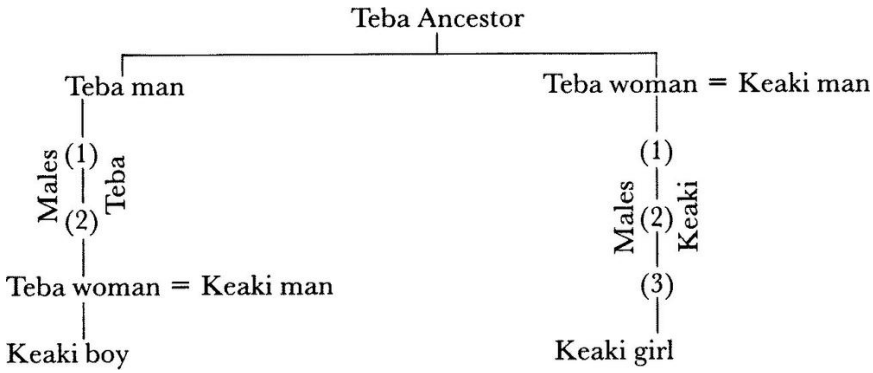
A general dictum througout the group on the subject of consanguineous marriages is: *"E ewe te karoro"* ("the fourth generation goes free"), that is, persons in the fourth generation of descent from a common ancestor may marry each other. Though the marriage of such close connections was by no menas favourably regarded by everyone, the principle of consanguineous alliances was at least so well established as to make them possible in the fifth and sixth generations. But underlying and restricting the application of this doctrine was an absolute prohibition of any marriage between members of the

same *boti*. This did not preclude the possibility of a man's marriage with every relation on the paternal side, for provided that they were sufficiently distant in degree, he could still contract alliances with connections of his father descended through a male ancestor's sister and so into another *boti,* as the following simplified diagram shows.



The boy of the Keaki *boti* could marry his Teba paternal cousin but not the girl who had descended into the Keaki group, although one was no more distant from the common ancestor than the other. Similarly, it could easily happen that while he could take as a wife a moderately close paternal relation from another *boti,* he would be debarred from union with a collateral in his own group so distantly removed from him that the common ancestry was a matter of mere tradition. It was membership of the same group that constituted the bar, above any other consideration.

The next diagram will show that relations through the mother also could be disqualified as wives by the *boti* organization.



The important consideration would be the *male* ancestry of the boy and the girl, by virtue of which both had descended into the same group.

There was no impediment under ordinary conditions to the marriage of a man with a woman of his mother's group outside the forbidden degree of relationship. But if a boy, for one of the reasons already described, took the *boti* of his mother, he was at once debarred from union with any member of it; at the same time, he still remained under the prohibition of contracting alliances with women of his father's clan. These conditions lay particular emphasis on the importance of clan membership as a regulator of marriage. But it must be remarked that this importance seems to vary in degree from island to island. On the seven most southerly islands of the group it is most pronounced: going northwards, one finds that on Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka it is absolutely non-existent; on Maiana, Tarawa, and Abaiang it is again very evident; on Marakei it seems to lose in strength; while on Butaritari and Makin it again disappears.

On Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka, I think there can be little doubt as to the reason for the disappearance of the clan's importance in the regulation of marriage. The decay and the subversion of nearly every ordinary native standard of sexual morality on those islands is indubitably attributable to a single powerful and sinister individual, not very long dead. This was the infamous Tem Binoka, high chief of the three atolls, whom Stevenson described. It is almost impossible for us to conceive the terror which this remarkable man inspired among his people. One of his methods of asserting ascendancy was to ride deliberately roughshod over the customs of his ancestors. He allowed no bar of consanguinity to balk his sexual appetite and thus laid the foundations of a promiscuity for which Abemama

is famous to this day. And he deliberately disorganized the ceremonials and the rules of precedence in the maneaba, in order that his *boti* should have a pre-eminence to which tradition did not entitle it. These are known facts, and it seems to me that we have in them the explanation of the disappearance of the clan regulation of marriage on Abemama and its tributary islands. First, there was the complete predominance of the high chief, tending to obliterate the significance of all social groupings. This was an influence that had probably been at work through the six generations of the dynasty preceding Tem Binoka. Second came the subversion of every previous standard of sexual morality, and as a finishing touch the scrapping of all traditions connected with the *boti* in the maneaba.

If my proposed explanation is correct, we have a remarkably clear example of the rapidity with which native institutions may under certain circumstances decay and an illustration of how purely local and individual conditions may profoundly modify a social organization.

There is no evidence from Butaritari and Makin that the organization of the *boti* had any connection with the control of marriage. The four divisions of the maneaba were according to tradition made to provide sitting-room for four respective grades of society; namely, chiefs, free landowners, slaves, and strangers. One feels that the spirit that led to such distinctions of caste might lean rather towards endogamy than exogamy. But while admitting such a possibility, it must be borne in mind that the purely patrilineal character of *boti* descent on Butaritari and Makin, and the general underlying similarity of the *boti* scheme there with that of other islands, suggest that the dissociation of the clan from marriage has been the result of some special modification of the social organization under influences unknown to us.

On Ocean Island (Banaba) no detailed information about clan groups is available, but some of the old people can still remember that there were *boti* in the maneaba. The vagueness that exists cannot be the result of European influences alone, as this island was little visited before 1900. It is probable that the clan grouping had been in process of decay for some long period, probably as a result of the tendency towards purely local groupings. Banaban descent is patrilineal, but succession is an exact compromise between patrilineal and matrilineal methods.

A survey of our material thus shows that eleven out of the seventeen Gilbertese-speaking communities, for which there is evidence, [12] have a system of clan organization plainly exog-

amous in character. Out of the six communities that show no sign of having practised clan exogamy, three have been shown to have come under a late influence entirely calculated to result in its disappearance; these three have kept entire their patrilineal mode of descent, succession, and inheritance, and to a certain extent their *boti* organization, as have also two other exceptional islands, Butaritari and Makin. Only one, Banaba, seems to give no sign whatever of having practised clan exogamy. In the future, I shall refer to clan exogamy as an essential part of the social organization of the Gilbertese people.

Precedence and Privileges of the Clans in the Maneaba

Many clans had hereditary privileges or duties connected with the ceremonial of the maneaba, which they most jealously prized and guarded. Among these, the group of Karongoa n Uea 'Karongoa of Kings', as its name suggests, was foremost in rank. Karongoa n Uea was king of the maneaba; at all ceremonial gatherings within the edifice, its chief man —the senior descendant through eldest sons of the original ancestor—assumed "the first word and the last word" in debate. [1] This meant in practice that none would open the subject of discussion until he spoke the introductory word, while the summing up or judgment, as the case might be, was entirely in his hands.

As a badge of supremacy in council and ceremonial, he wore a fillet about his head made of a single *kakoko,* a coconut pinnule plucked from the ivory-white topmost shoot of the tree, which was knotted above the middle of his forehead. This fillet had to be made of a leaflet that had grown facing the sunrise on the eastern shore of the island, and was called *buna n Tai* 'the amulet of the Sun'. It rendered the wearer *kama raia,* which meant that he could cause to be *maraia* 'accursed' or 'in danger of sudden death' any person who contradicted him or otherwise offended his dignity while he performed his ceremonial functions. It seems, however, that this quality of "perilousness" was attached to the person of the senior Karongoa n Uea man even without the presence of the amulet of the sun, as will be seen later. This amulet, sometimes called alternatively *te buna ni kamaraia* 'the amulet of making accursed', merely enhanced the sacredness that was already inherent in the individual as a consequence of his birth and function.

Having taken his seat in his *boti* a little in advance of the rest of his clan members, as was the practice of all seniors of clans in ceremonial gatherings, the elder of Karongoa n Uea first assumed his sun-amulet and then, in a low voice, mut-

tered the magico-religious formula called *taematao,* of which the object was to "make clean the path of his words." [2] I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this formula, but it is said to have been recited with the head lowered [3] while the hands were slowly rubbed together, palm on palm. After three consecutive repetitions, the hands were thrown out with palms upward and elbows against the body, and lifting his head the performer said, *"Anaia, ba N na ongo"* ("Take it up, for I will hear"). The debate or ceremony might then begin.

Attached to Karongoa n Uea was a very clear-cut doctrine of infallibility concerning certain race traditions. This clan is considered still to be the only genuine authority on the myths of the people, especially the creation myth with its appendices, and on the legends of the immigration from Samoa. This does not mean that no other clans are in possession of myths and traditions; many people outside the Karongoa n Uea group can give versions of the creation story and the arrival from Samoa, which are the more interesting because they sometimes differ considerably from the Karongoa n Uea rendering; but they would never dream of putting up their versions in competition with those of Karongoa n Uea, nor indeed even of mentioning them in the presence of an elder of that clan. In the more informal discussion of tradition that a little gathering of old men will often set going, it was, and still is, considered a grave impropriety to question a detail given by a member of Karongoa n Uea, or to point out an omission, even though it may be glaringly patent to all present. To dispute such a matter in the past was considered to render a man *maraia* and liable to mortal sickness; this applied whether the discussion took place in the maneaba or in a private dwelling.

This infallibility in matters of tradition seems to indicate that Karongoa n Uea may have been an organization closely allied to the *wharekua* of the Maoris, and the priestly colleges of Polynesia, which were also the repositories of such knowledge. It is very far from my purpose to oppose the idea that this was originally a priestly clan, but one of its principal differences from the sacred organizations of New Zealand and Polynesia is that it seems never to have performed the office of public genealogist. While pretending to absolute knowledge of the names of the ancestors who arrived from Samoa, and of the social groups to which they belonged, it does not claim to be an authority upon the generations locally descended from them.

Thus the members of a clan will decide for themselves upon the validity of any man's claim to belong to their group, and they would go to Karongoa n Uea only for information concerning their legendary ancestor who took part in the Samoan immigration. Nevertheless, it seems possible that all genealogical information may at one time have been in the keeping of Karongoa n Uea; for it is certainly a fact that the meager details that now subsist concerning the Samoan forebears of those clan ancestors who took part in the migration to the Gilberts are obtainable from members of this clan alone. That it does not now perform the function of public genealogist may be due to the scattering of the clans piecemeal over sixteen islands, which was the immediate result of the migration from Samoa to the Gilbert Group.

At all ceremonial feasts, when the food was divided formally between the clans in the manner to be described later, Karongoa n Uea was given the first portion *(te moan tiba),* which it then shared with the groups of Karongoa Raereke, Katanrake, and, on Beru, Antekanawa. These clans had the same totems and ancestors as Karongoa n Uea; the other two groups claiming the same progenitors and sacred creatures, Te Bakoa and Taunnamo, had their own separate portions.

On the island of Marakei, I was told that after the pandanus harvest had been gathered in, which in a normal year would be about the time of the autumnal equinox, no Islander was allowed to taste the various products made with the fruit until a feast had been held in the maneaba of his settlement and Karongoa n Uea had eaten the first-fruits. But there seems to be some doubt about this on the island named, and I have been unable to confirm it elsewhere.

In the construction of the maneaba, the first file of thatches to be laid on the roof was that covering the middle rafter of the eastern side, whereunder the people of Karongoa n Uea were grouped.

A Gilbertese explanation of the pre-eminence of this clan in the ceremonial of the maneaba is that "it is Samoa"; [4] that is to say, it represents the victorious immigration from Samoa into the Gilbert Islands. It is not asserted that Karongoa and its allied groups were the only clans whose ancestors took part in the invasion, or the series of invasions, from Samoa; but it is stated that the progenitors of Karongoa n Uea were kings on Upolu before the migration and the ancestors of those legendary dynasties of kings that were established on Tarawa, Beru, and Nonouti as a result of the successive waves of in-

vasion from the south. That all the evidence of tradition supports this claim will be shown in later sections in which the legends of the coming from Samoa are analysed. What seems to be fairly well substantiated by analysis of those traditions is that the final immigration from the south was made by a swarm in which Karongoa was very strongly represented. It is true that an earlier movement from Samoa had already implanted on Tarawa a dynasty of kings called Kirata, whose clan is also known to have been Karongoa n Uea; but this movement seems to have immediately affected only that single island, whereas the later swarm is shown by direct evidence to have settled upon at least eleven out of the sixteen islands.

Coming as conquerors to the group, covering so large an area, and having the prestige of a kingly ancestry upon Samoa, it is easy to understand how the people of Karongoa n Uea were able to assume all their hereditary privileges in the maneaba of their new homes, and to establish them so securely as part of the imported social system. Even when the political organization became modified, to the extent that the kingly and chiefly regime developed into something approaching a democracy, as happened on many islands, the clan still continued to enjoy its ancient pre-eminence in the social and magico-religious ceremonial of the maneaba.

Beside the title Samoa, which is known throughout the group, common consent on several islands, especially Marakei and Maiana, also confers the epithet Sun on the clan of Karongoa n Uea. It has already been seen that the fillet worn on ceremonial occasions by the elder of the group is called the amulet of the Sun; that the stone stud of the maneaba which is included within the clan's sitting space is named Sun; and that an inhibition upon one who behaves in an unseemly manner within the edifice is the expression, *"Iai Tai i nanon te maneaba"* ("The Sun is in the maneaba").

In the Gilbertese mind of Marakei and Maiana the various components of this complex of ideas connected with the sun are so dependent one upon the other that they must be regarded simultaneously. We cannot afford to examine them separately and individually if we are to obtain a true view of their significance, since the Gilbertese himself does not methodically distinguish between the elemental parts of any given compound of beliefs, but regards them, however conflicting and contradicting they may seem in detail to us, as one and indivisible. It is their very quality of togetherness that gives them vital meaning to him. For example, in the complex of beliefs connected with the sun,

he does not evaluate the force of the sun-title as applied respectively to a clan and a stone in the maneaba; he does not say to himself, "The stone is so-named because it is a representation of the sun's body, and the clan because it is a representative of his power"; he does not even wonder why; he simply accepts and states what to him is a perfectly satisfying fact, that both stone and clan are the sun. And because the fact is so, the one is permanently and indissolubly bound up in his mind with the other.

Similarly, in his use of the expression, "the Sun is in the maneaba," he does not stop to ask himself whether he refers to the luminary itself, or its invisible emanation, or the clan, or the stone bearing its name. As he speaks, he means all these things; for just as an unscientific mind will view a complicated mixture of chemical solutions as one simple liquid, so does he embrace in a single thought and evoke in a solitary word the triple unity of sun, clan, and stone. Only by realizing this do we obtain a true view of the significance of the sun-title bestowed upon Karongoa n Uea.

On Marakei and Maiana, though the kingly ancestry of this clan connoted in its appellation Samoa contributes towards its pre-eminence in the ceremonial of the maneaba, its title to precedence is considered to rest chiefly upon its identification with the sun. On Abaiang and Tarawa this is still apparent, though not so generally known; on Tabiteuea and Beru it is claimed by a few very old men who are themselves members of the clan; on other islands it seems to be the Samoa connection that now entitles Karongoa n Uea to its privileges, in the estimation both of its own members and that of the general public.

Though there can be no doubt that the people of Karongoa n Uea came as conquerors and chiefs to the group, their prestige in the maneaba is now entirely divorced from the idea of temporal power, and their privileges are largely independent of political vicissitudes.

On Abemama, indeed, where the high chiefs belong to the clan of Kaburara, the insolently despotic Tem Binoka of fifty years ago, whose particular pleasure it was to override all Gilbertese custom and so display his power, became jealous of Karongoa's ceremonial prerogatives and deliberately assumed them to himself. Since then Kaburara has performed on Abemama all the offices in the maneaba that used to be in the hands of Karongoa n Uea. This is an exceedingly interesting illustration of the modification in a social system that may take place in a single generation as a result of local politics. This *coup d'état* of the high chief of Abemama affected also the two

tributary islands of Aranuka and Kuria. Had an enquirer been able to conduct his researches only on these three islands of the Gilbert Group, he would have entirely missed the importance of the Karongoa clan in the social organization of the Gilberts; he would have heard nothing of its connection with the sun; and he would have failed to find any of the Karongoa immigration myths, which throw so much light on the coming from Samoa, for these two faded out of memory with the passing of the privileges of the clan. [5]

The deliberate stroke of disorganization which Binoka was obliged to effect on Abemama, in order to rob Karongoa of its precedence, only serves to throw into greater relief the durable character of its privileges, for before their spoliation they had subsisted intact through six successive generations of powerful high chiefs. Their eventual loss for political reasons was quite exceptional, being without parallel on any other Gilbert island. Elsewhere, whatever may have been the accidents of war or other material circumstances, Karongoa remained supreme in the maneaba from the time of the Samoan immigration right up to the coming of the British flag in 1892. A Karongoa man might be stripped of all his lands and forced to do menial work for the victorious chief of another clan, but in the maneaba he spoke with all the old authority; his chief listened meekly to his words and forbore to contradict lest he should become *maraia.* This was recognized on every island (except Abemama and its tributaries) where the chiefly system prevailed. [6] Furthermore, a chief could not save his face by excluding a Karongoa menial from his maneaba, for the members of this clan held the sacred right of demanding entry on any ceremonial occasion, to refuse which was to become immediately *maraia.*

Neither did the accidents of war affect the internal organization of the clan. Several times during the past two centuries of Tarawa political history a younger branch of Karongoa was on the victorious side, while the senior branch had joined the conquered faction and consequently became the “eater out of the clan” of its junior. But this had no effect upon its rights of primogeniture for ceremonial purposes: its eldest representative still remained the spokesman of the entire group in the maneaba. The application of the genealogical method of enquiry on five islands has shown me no exceptions to this rule.

With reference to temporal power, there is a saying current throughout the group that only a dynasty of *uea* ‘high chiefs’ descended from Karongoa can stand firm for very long on any island. This theory is but feebly supported by facts on

Abemama, where perhaps the most powerful of the three lines of high chiefs found in the Gilberts belongs to the clan of Kaburara, and is connected with Karongoa only through an ancestress of ten generations back. [7]

It is true, however, that on Abaiang the Uea Kaiea, the fourth of his dynasty, is one of the Karongoa n Uea group; while on Butaritari, though this clan is not an entity of the local social organization, the high chiefs, of whom an individual also named Kaiea is now ninth in succession, are known to be descended in the male line from the ancient Karongoa kings of Tarawa.

Certainly when temporal power is added to the ceremonial prestige of Karongoa (as on Abaiang), the respect paid to the clan is most patent; and this is natural, as its functions are no longer confined to the maneaba but embrace also the duties and privileges of physical kingship. It is natural, too, that when both ritual and temporal pre-eminence are vested in the same person, a certain amount of confusion should be apparent as to the exact limits of his title to respect on the one ground or the other. On Abaiang, the high chief's membership of the Karongoa clan seems in the past to have endowed his person with a sacredness not enjoyed by the infinitely more despotic Kaburara kings of Abemama. Not only within but also outside the maneaba it was an offence to discuss the lightest word of the *uea,* and a man was considered to be *maraia* if he made the smallest of impatient references to his peculiarities of habits or person. Thus it seems that the accident of temporal kingship on Abaiang extended to political and mundane life the scope of those sanctions by which Karongoa was ordinarily surrounded only in the maneaba during the performance of its ceremonial functions.

We have also an example of this in the legend of Nei Nimanoa and Beia-ma-Tekai. Beia-ma-Tekai were kings and at the same time members of Karongoa; therefore, according to the tradition, they were *kama raia* both inside and outside the maneaba; and when Tabutoa on Nonouti expressed his impatience that the heroes should have chased him and his folk to that island, he fell dead on the spot. It may be mentioned here that all the Karongoa clans in the Gilbert Group trace their descent from Beia-ma-Tekai through one or another of the Beruan conquerors, who settled upon their islands nine or ten generations before.

The precedence and privileges enjoyed by Karongoa n Uea appear to have been the same in all the three styles of maneaba known to the Gilbertese; [8] the functions of the other clans,

however, varied according to the type of building in which the feast or other ceremony took place. The differences between the Tabiang and Maungatabu styles, as far as the precedence of clans and the nature of their duties were concerned, were not very pronounced; I shall therefore deal with them together, taking the Maungatabu maneaba as the basis of my description, and mentioning in the text any divergence noticed in the Tabiang building. The organization of the ceremonial in the Tabontebike maneaba was markedly different in detail, although similar in general character.

PRECEDENCE OF THE CLANS IN THE MAUNGATABU AND TABIANG MANEABA

The clan of Karongoa Raereke was considered the companion *(rao)* and the acolyte *(tabonibai)* of Karongoa n Uea in the ceremonial of both these maneaba. Its members carried messages, generally in whispers, from the sacred clan to the other groups; and in the northern islands its elder often "lifted the word" from the lips of a Karongoa n Uea spokesman, which is to say that the latter whispered his oration or his judgment into the ear of the Karongoa Raereke man who then published it to the maneaba at large. The privilege of the group was to "partake of *(katonga)* the portion" of Karongoa n Uea in the feast, and for this reason it received no individual share in the distribution of food. Its duty was to supervise the laying of the first *inai* 'mats of green plaited coconut leaf' on the shingled floor of the maneaba. The "first *inai*" consisted of a single file of these mats, laid end to end from the southern extremity of the building to the northern gable, up against the western side of the central pillars supporting the ridge-pole, and a second file laid from north to south up against their eastern side. While these were being laid by junior men of the clan, the elder stood in the middle of the building, facing east, and recited a magic formula of which the object was to prevent dissension among those who were to sit in the building.

By a stroke of ill-fortune, the only Old Man of Abaiang who remembered this formula died suddenly two days before an interview at which he had promised to give it to me. From a conversation I had with him in public, it appears that the materials used in the ceremony were the leaf of a newly sprouted coconut, whose pinnules had not yet separated *(te ba ni kamaimai),* and a *kuo n aine* 'a cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil

had been boiled' and which had subsequently been taken for magical purposes. A potion was made in this vessel and drunk by the officiator before the laying of the *inai;* while the work was in progress he recited his formula, at the same time waving the coconut leaf towards the four sides of the building. The time for this ceremony was any hour of the morning before the sun had passed its zenith.

The *inai* thus laid by Karongoa Raereke were furnished not by members of the clan, but by the women of the settlement at large. After the feast two files were laid; the rest were introduced in any order by any clan.

The clan of Katanrake shared with Karongoa Raereke the privilege of partaking of the portion allocated to Karongoa n Uea in the feast. Its duty was to fetch this portion from the middle of the maneaba where the food was divided, to subdivide it into three shares, and, keeping one for itself, to hand the other two to their respective owners, giving the choicest bits always to Karongoa n Uea. In payment for this office, it had the privilege of using the *nikira* 'remnant' and the *mange* 'waste' of the food, the *nikira* being any odd one out left after counting round such things as puddings or *babai* roots, and the *mange* the broken bits that might fall during the process of subdivision.

The Tabiang clan had the privilege of receiving the second share of the feast in a Maungatabu maneaba. If a porpoise were included in the food, the head of the creature belonged by right to this clan. In debate its elder "used the second word"—he spoke as soon as Karongoa n Uea had opened the discussion. With reference to these privileges of following hard on the heels of Karongoa n Uea, and to its position in the northern gable of the maneaba, Tabiang is sometimes called Uea ni Meang (king of the north).

The groups of Te Kirikiri and Te Ba partook of the portion of Tabiang in the feast, the former fetching it from the middle of the maneaba and setting it before the latter, which subdivided it and handed out the shares. In reward for its office of subdivision, Te Ba had the perquisites of *nikira* and *mange,* exactly as Katanrake in the case of the Karongoa groups.

The third portion of the feast and the "third word" in debate were taken by the people of Te Bakabaka; the fourth by Te Bakoa; the fifth by Taunnamo; the sixth by the clan of Te Kua, which also took the tail of the porpoise when it was included in the food.

The seventh portion and the "seventh word" belonged to Tabukaokao. It was the elder of this clan who supervised the collection of food in the middle of the maneaba, making scathing or complimentary remarks upon it as it arrived, and it was he who made the general division from the central point. This was a highly prized function, the officiator being the cynosure of all eyes. He had the right of the most absolute freedom of speech in respect of the donations of the various people, and it was expected of him that he should pour forth a stream of humorous remarks during the performance of his duties. One of his chief methods of being funny was to make inept allusions to race tradition, such as the legends of the coming from Samoa, in illustration of his points, the humour lying in the inconsequence or the gross incorrectness of his quotations. It was said of the Tabukaokao people that "they knew no traditions but they were clever in causing laughter," and it is certainly a fact to this day that the most successful raconteurs of humorous stories on the various islands are generally found to be Tabukaokao men.

The young men of this clan did the manual labour of dividing the food, under the direction of the elder, and they handed out the portions to those sent to fetch them. In payment for its work, the clan took the *nikira* and the *mange* left over from the general division.

The eighth share and "eighth word" belonged to Nikumauea. This group had the very important function of covering the ridge of the maneaba with its capping of plaited pandanus or coconut leaf.

After the eighth portion of the feast had been given, the other clans appear to have followed in any order; similarly, after the eighth speaker in debate the discussion became general.

The clan of Karumaetoa was architect of the maneaba called Tabiang, its ancestor being the Tewatu of Matang who built the first edifice of that type on the north end of Beru, twenty-odd generations ago. In its possession are all the magic formulae connected with the Tabiang style of construction.

The clans of Ababou and Maerua shared between them the method and the magic of the Maungatabu architectural style. But although in theory it was admitted that a Karumaetoa man was the best architect for Tabiang, and a member of Ababou or Maerua for Maungatabu, a certain amount of confusion existed in practice.

When the people of a settlement wished to build a new maneaba in a particular style, say that of Tabiang, a Karumaetoa man might not be available; they might then obtain the services

Table 5. The Gilbertese clans

***Boti* Clan**	***Anti* God**	***Bakatibu* Ancestor**	***Atua* Totems**	***Man* Crest**
Karongoa n Uea	Tabuariki	Teuribaba Tabuariki Matawarebwe Kanawa tree	Cockerel Shark Wind Kanawa tree	Te-bou-teuana
Karongoa Raereke	Tabuariki	Teuribaba Tabuariki Matawarebwe Kanawa tree	Cockerel Shark Wind Kanawa tree	Te-bou-uoua
Te Bakoa	Tabuariki the Shark	Tabuariki the Shark	Shark	Te-ra-tabito
Antekanawa (Beru)	Tabuariki the Shark	Tabuariki Matawarebwe Kanawa tree	Shark Cockerel Wind Kanawa tree	Te-bou-uoua
Katanrake	Tabuariki the Shark	Tabuariki Matawarebwe Kanawa tree	Shark Cockerel Wind Kanawa tree	Te-bou-uoua
Nikumauea	Riki the Eel	Riki the Eel	The Centipede The Eel	Te-man-riki
Teborauea	Tabakea the Turtle	Tabakea the Turtle	The Ladybird The Turtle The Noddy	Te Kekenu (a Saurian) A bush called Ibi
Tabukaokao	Nei Tenaotarai	Nei Tenaotarai	A Crab called Nei Tenaotarai	Te Atu

***Boti* Clan**	***Anti* God**	***Bakatibu* Ancestor**	***Atua* Totems**	***Man* Crest**
Te Ba	Taburimai	Taburimai	Te Kun, a carangoid fish	Te Atu
Tabiang	Taburimai	Taburimai	Te Kun, a carangoid fish	Te-man-uoua
Te Kua	Kaburoronteun	Kaburoronteun	?	Te-Kai-ni-katiku
Te Bakabaka	Tabuariki Nei Tituabine	Tabuariki Nei Tituabine	Cockerel Shark Thunder Sting ray	Te-ra-tabito
Ababou	Bue Rirongo	Sun Bue Rirongo	Porpoise Sun Coral called *rirongo*	Te Kai-ni-Kamata
Maerua	Bue Rirongo	Sun Bue Rirongo	Porpoise Sun Coral called Rirongo	Te Kai-ni-Kamata
Kaburara	Nei Tituabine	Nei Tituabine Nabiri	Sting ray Creeper Tarai	Te Man-n-aon-rama
Taurawaka	Taokarawa	Taokarawa	?	?
Te Wiwi	Te I-Mone	Te I-Mone	Uri tree A conch	?
Karumaetoa	Bakoa the Shark	Bakoa the Shark Tewatu of Matang	The Shark	Te-ra-tabito

Boti Clan	*Anti* God	*Bakatibu* Ancestor	*Atua* Totems	*Man* Crest
Bakarawa	Nei Moaine Fools and deaf-mutes	Nei Moaine Fools and deaf-mutes	Brittle starfish	Te Kikannang
Keaki	Nei Tituabine	Nei Tituabine The tropic-bird Kouraiti	The tropic-bird The sting ray Bêche-de-mer	Te buki ni banga
Te O	Auriaria	Auriaria	The tern The pemphis tree	?
Uma ni Kamauri	Auriaria	Auriaria	The tern The pemphis tree	Te-ra-tabito
Taunnamo	Tabuariki	Teuribaba Tabuariki Matawarebwe Kanawa tree	Cockerel Shark Wind Kanawa tree	Te-bou-teuana
Benuakura	A man-eating mythical bird called Aromatang	Teibiaro, the brother of the bird	Bird called Aromatang	Niuitawawa (a representation of the bird's feathers)
Kaotirama	Buatara the sting ray	Buatara	Sting ray called *buatara*	Mataaua
Bangauma	Te Mamang	Te Mamang	Sting ray	?
Tekokona	Kotua	Kotua	Porpoise	Kainikamata
Nei Ati	Kieunari	Kieunari	Octopus Garfish	Man-nei-ati

Boti Clan	*Anti* God	*Bakatibu* Ancestor	*Atua* Totems	*Man* Crest
Namakaina	Taburimai	Taburimai	Te Kun, a carangoid fish	Namakaina
Katannaki	Nei Temaiti	Nei Temaiti	Nei Temaiti, a stone	Manintaiki

Note: For other lists, differently arranged, see Table 6, and Grimble 1933–1934, facing p. 20.

of a Maerua or Ababou architect, who would copy the Tabiang style, but use the magic associated with Maungatabu. This would be considered satisfactory, the magic and the ritual connected with it being the essential thing. Takeuta of Marakei was a Karongoa Raereke man, and therefore strictly the architect of the Tabontebike style. But his constructive ability was so great in Gilbertese estimation that he has been called upon to build in all of the three styles, in preference to experts whose clan gave them in theory the prior claim to consideration. In all cases, he used the magic connected with the maneaba of Taobontebike.

Te Wiwi had the duty and the sole privilege of blowing the conch, at whose signal the people gathered in the maneaba. The order to sound it was sent by the elder of Karongoa n Uea, who transmitted it first to the elder of Karongoa Raereke, who in his turn deputed a junior of his clan to carry the message. As noted elsewhere, the conch was one of the totems of Te Wiwi, being the invention of the clan ancestor and god Te I-Mone, king of the underworld.

Members of Keaki had the right of prior entry into the maneaba, not in the sense that they took their places before anyone else went in, but that when one or more arrived in a crowd at the western side of the building their companions belonging to other clans would stand aside to let them pass first.

Traditional Origins of the Maneaba

It is convenient to open this section with the tradition concerning the origins of the maneaba on Butaritari and Makin, because it leads to the narrative relating to the establishment of the southern styles of maneaba. [1]

Accounts of the migration from Samoa to the Gilberts show that when the ancestral tree of Samoa was broken, the red-tailed tropic-bird, which lived on its crest, flew northwards to Tetoronga and began to eat the people of that place. Tetoronga is the ancient name of the northernmost island in the Gilbert Group, now called Makin; it is still attached to a desolate stony point at the northern end of the atoll. A detailed Butaritari version of this tradition relates that the bird settled among the branches of a tree called Tarakaimate, on a small islet called Te Maungatabu 'the holy hill', where there was a beautiful bathing pool. Beside the bathing pool stood a maneaba, where the Makin Islanders went to dance. When people went down to bathe in the pool, they were eaten by the tropic-bird.

After a time the goddess Nei Tituabine arrived from Samoa looking for the tropic-bird, which belonged to her. On hearing from the people of the place how it was behaving, she told them how to kill it, and when it was dead she went to bury it herself. Over the grave she planted a young coconut palm and, when this was done, went with all the people to dance in the maneaba.

There came a night, after many days of rejoicing, when the inmates of the maneaba were astonished and terrified to see a red light glowing in the eastern side of the building. They saw that it was a man of gigantic stature, whose body and hair gave out a *meata. Te meata* is the name of the dull copper-coloured glow, when the last of the sunset goes.

They tried to catch him, but he ran away. After this had happened several nights in succession they chased the visitor and found that he lived with a host of brothers in the branches of

the tree where the tropic-bird had dwelt. He told the people that he and all his brood had grown from the head of the bird when it was buried. They took him to the maneaba, where the goddess Tituabine named him Koura (*Ko* 'thou', *ura* 'red' or 'brown'). At the same time, she named his brothers Koura-iti, Iti-ni-Koura, Rube-ni-Koura, Koura-mwe, Koura-Tamoa, Kouran-te-take, Kouran-Tarawa. All these were *ribaura* 'red in complexion'.

It was found later that a race of women had also grown from the young coconut palm planted by Tituabine over the grave of the tropic-bird. Their names were Nei Riki, Nei Temarewe, Nei Tebarae, Nei Nowi, and Nei Tarabainang. With these women, the red people married and procreated.

Koura was made *uea* of the island, and in commemoration of this the old maneaba standing on Te Maungatabu was destroyed and a new one of immense size (more than a hundred fathoms long and more than fifty fathoms wide) was erected on the same spot.

The new building was called Koura's maneaba, and had the special name of Makuanterara 'the high-tide of blood' in reminiscence of the tropic-bird's slaughter of the inhabitants. By this name the style is known at the present day.

Thus far, the tradition accounts for the establishment of the type of building now used on the two islands, Makin and Butaritari. According to the evidence, the inhabitants of Makin already had some sort of maneaba before the arrival of the tropic-bird from Samoa. From the account of the doings of this bird, we are obviously to understand that the island was invaded by a party of immigrants from Samoa, whose totem and ancestor was the red-tailed tropic-bird, and whose skin was of a red or copper colour.

The link between the original inhabitants and the immigrants seems to have been a common cult of the goddess Tituabine. This is at least suggested by the friendly relations of the deity with both parties.

The immigrants gained the ascendancy over the aboriginals; their chief Koura became *uea;* and a new maneaba, in the style of the invaders, was erected on the site of the old one. Thus it is the maneaba of the people from Samoa which we see today on the two islands.

It was Koura, according to the account, who divided the maneaba into four *boti,* and allocated these quarters to the four different grades of society.

In the tradition, it seems possible to discern the mechanism by which these four groupings came into being. The disposition of the *boti* appears to have been the logical result of the conquest of Makin and Butaritari by the immigrant population. Clearly the Botin uea [see Figure 11] was taken by the chief of the immigrants, Koura, and his circle; and it is again explicitly stated that the third *boti,* Teanikabai, was given to those "who were conquered," a phrase that must refer to the original inhabitants of the islands. The intermediate *boti* of Tabokororo was allocated to the *toka* 'chiefs', who with very little doubt may be supposed to have been immigrant warriors not qualifying for a seat among the royal group. The fourth division, for strangers, would be the natural outcome of a later desire to provide a place for peaceful comers, who would be otherwise excluded from the social scheme by a strict adherence to the original plan.

If the evidence of tradition has led us to the right conclusion, we are faced with a serious difficulty: to explain why the invasion of the Gilbert Islands by a people from Samoa resulted in so simple a scheme of social divisions on Butaritari and Makin, while on the southerly islands it had no such effects. The multiplicity of *boti* in the southern maneaba is in strong contrast with the simplicity of the Makin plan.

If the immigration into Butaritari and Makin was part of a general contemporaneous swarming into the group from Samoa, it would seem that only the members of a single social group out of the whole swarm—the tropic-bird group—reached these two most northerly islands. It is possible that this affords the explanation of the simple organization of society according to grade. The basic division into an upper and a lower class would be a result of a war of conquest. And a pre-existing tendency among the upper class to subgrouping in the maneaba would easily lead to the separation of the leading chief and his nearest kin from the group of immigrants who were not of his kin. Thus the three clans may have originated; the stranger's clan would follow.

Another solution may be that the migration from Samoa to Makin was not a part of the general invasion of the group, but a separate movement. In this case, while the culture of the tropic-bird folk included the maneaba and *boti* scheme, and was therefore probably allied to that introduced by the immigrants into the southern islands, it is possible that its social organization was in a different stage of development. Thus again might be explained the difference of character between the social groupings of the south and those of the two northern is-

lands; and there is evidence of other kinds which seems to indicate that the tropic-bird folk were members of an immigration distinct from that into the southern islands.

Proceeding with the tradition of the tropic-bird maneaba, when Koura had apportioned sitting-places to all the four classes of people, it was decided to make a voyage to southward. Koura's son and namesake, with a host of other Kouras and their wives, launched their canoe called Te Bukini Benebene 'the tip of a coconut leaf' and set out. Butaritari was settled and the maneaba erected there. Missing the islands of Marakei, Abaiang, and Tarawa, these people then visited the six islands southward as far as Beru. Everywhere, they landed, procreated, and left a maneaba.

On Beru they stayed; they built their maneaba on the north end of the island, and therein they exalted *(neboa)* their brother Koura. The process of exaltation seems to have been materially manifested, if the tradition is reliable. Koura was seated upon a square platform, slung by ropes from the ridge-pole of the maneaba, high above the heads of his people.

After a peaceful residence (of unknown duration) on Beru, the tropic-bird folk were disturbed by the immigration of a group of people from Samoa, whose leader was named Matawarebwe 'broad-face' or 'wide-eye'. Apparently, some sort of peaceful settlement was arranged, for we are told that Koura and his people continued to live in their maneaba until the son of Matawarebwe, Tanentoa the First, ruled in his father's stead. Then dissension broke out. It is related that the insolence of the tropic-bird folk grew beyond the endurance of Tanentoa. The story relates that Koura the chief would sit upon his raised platform *(bwia)* and break wind before the people, at which they would say *"E tingiting Koura; e rebwerebwe ki ni Koura."* This custom, maintained even when Tanentoa and his brothers came as guests to visit Koura's maneaba, caused such offence that Tanentoa decreed the destruction of the tropic-bird people. This was achieved by burning them all in their maneaba. Everyone was killed except Koura-iti, who was saved by one of the Beruans, and adopted as his child. [2]

There was now, tradition runs, no maneaba on Beru. Therefore Tanentoa the king ordained that a large one should be built at the place called Tabontebike, in honour of his father Matawarebwe, who had led the Samoan immigrants to the island. [3] With the help of two spirits, Bouriki and Boutabo, called especially from Samoa, the edifice was erected, and straight away the allocation of sitting-places was begun. Tanentoa [and

therefore his ancestor, Matawarebwe] took the *boti* of Karongoa n Uea. Tabuariki was placed at Te Bakoa. Te I-Mone was given Te Wiwi; and so on, until all the ancestors knew their sitting-places. There remained Koura-iti, the stranger from Butaritari and Makin who had been saved alive from the killing of the tropic-bird people; he was given the *boti* of Keaki in the south-east corner, and there his descendants remain until the present day. It seems therefore that the social group sitting at Keaki is representative of the submigration of the tropic-bird folk from the northern islands to Beru.

From the traditions reviewed above we can assume with some certainty that the maneaba called Tabontebike, a four-square building, was brought to Beru by the folk who came from Samoa under the lead of Matawarebwe, who was a member of the Karongoa clan. Tales of the coming from Samoa, analysed elsewhere, show that at the period of Matawarebwe, Karongoa people must have poured from the south into nearly every island of the Gilberts. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the four-square maneaba was introduced almost universally throughout the Gilbert Group at about this time.

It remains now to discuss the origins of the narrow Tabiang style and the intermediate Maungatabu type. The name Maungatabu 'holy hill' seems to have been taken from the spot on Makin where the tropic-bird settled, and so it appears probable that the Koura people spread it through the northern islands of the group as they migrated from Makin to Beru. But although I believe this to be the case, we cannot as yet attribute it with certainty to the tropic-bird folk, for we are told that the aboriginal inhabitants of Makin already had a maneaba at Maungatabu before the arrival of the tropic-bird. The doubtful point seems to be settled, however, by the evidence of the tradition connected with a man named Tewatu of Matang. [4]

When the tropic-bird came to Makin, many of the inhabitants fled, in fear of being eaten. According to a tradition of Tarawa and Nonouti, Tewatu was one of these refugees. He fled to Tabiteuea, settling in the district called Teotirababa 'the broad stone', and married Nei Tebai-bunnanikarawa. By her he had a son named Tautua. Tautua quarrelled with his parents and in anger sailed away to a land in the west called Matang. In Matang, he married Nei Abunaba, the daughter of Rake and Nei Touna. She bore him a child whom they named Tewatu of Matang.

The Tabontebike maneaba, Nukantewa, Beru—the prototype of all Gilbertese maneaba, built originally with timber from Samoa. (Maude photo)

When Tewatu of Matang was a man, his parents died. He buried them and took their skulls as drinking vessels. Then he set forth in his canoe *Kaibo* to eastward. He made land at Beru, and going ashore at Teteirio in the middle of the island, started to make war on the people and to eat the flesh of his victims. This happened in the time of Tanentoa the First.

So Tanentoa sent a message to Tewatu, asking him to come to the maneaba. Tewatu went, but as he entered the building a dog belonging to a man, Teikake, flew at him and bit his leg. Picking up the dog, he tore it apart and with the bleeding remains turned to smite the owner. But Tanentoa stayed him, saying "Smite him not. He shall be your slave. Take the seat in the south gable: it shall be your *boti,* and its name Karumaetoa. Your food shall be the tail of the porpoise, for you are late for the feast, and the people of Tabiang have already eaten the head."

Thus Tewatu of Matang took the clan-place of Karumaetoa in the Tabontebike maneaba.

After a while he began to desire a maneaba of his own, and he proposed to Tanentoa the king that he should build one in his own fashion. The king allowed it to be done, and so there was erected at Tabiang, the north end of Beru, Tewatu's maneaba in the style called Tabiang, which stands to this day.

It therefore seems reasonably certain that the narrow maneaba named Tabiang was introduced into the southern Gilberts by the man Tewatu and his immigrant party, who came from a land in the west traditionally called Matang. In this case, we are faced with two possibilities: either the Tabiang maneaba was a style of building known to Tewatu's ancestor and namesake, who had been driven out of Makin by the tropic-bird folk; or else it was an entirely new type of building, acquired by Tewatu in the western land called Matang, and freshly imported thence into Beru. If this second possibility is the truth—if the Tabiang maneaba *was* a new import from Matang—there should be islands in the neighbourhood of Melanesia where this type of building is seen today.

But if the Tabiang style was that of Tewatu's ancestor—which is the more likely possibility—it was obviously the type of building used on Makin before the invasion of the tropic-bird folk: the edifice that stood on the holy hill, at the north end of the land, until the period when the fierce bird began to eat the people of the place. In favour of this possibility, is the circumstance that he chose as a site the northern end of Beru —a surprising choice in view of that fact that he owned no land there, for the property that he had acquired by his invasion was all in the centre of the island. It may be that in this northern site of the Tabiang maneaba we have a link with the building that stood on the northern tip of Makin, so Tewatu's rather surprising choice of a site on Beru was influenced by some tradition connected with this style of building which dictated that it should always stand in the north. What is quite certain is that until recently no native would dream of erecting a maneaba of the Tabiang style anywhere save towards the northern extremity of an island. But the tradition of the first building on Beru might be enough to account for this.

We have now seen that tradition connected with the various styles of maneaba in the group are definite on these points:

1. The Tabontebike style was introduced by the Karongoa group of people, represented by the names of Matawarebwe and Tanentoa, who invaded Beru from Samoa some twenty to twenty-five generations ago.

2. The Tabiang style was imported by the man Tewatu, whose clan was Karumaetoa, and whose ancestors were pre-Samoan inhabitants of Makin.
3. As for the third type of maneaba, called Maungatabu, it is probable that this may be attributed to the tropic-bird invaders from Samoa, who carried their maneaba with them to Beru when they migrated thither from Makin.

The Clan and the Totem

Each clan in the Gilberts is connected with some plant, animal or object which it holds in particular esteem. For convenience of reference, I shall at once apply the term totem to these creatures and things; I do not think that the epithet will be found to have been misused after the exhibition of my material.

A few clans have only a single creature or object associated with them, but most have a minimum of two, some three or four, and one even five. Sometimes several clans share the same totem or totems; in such cases the clans concerned, although having different names, are seen to possess the same ancestor and god.

Table 6 provides a list of the totems which I have been able to identify. Information about the totems is difficult to get. It is by no means every old man who can tell one the animal or object associated with his clan, from which it appears probable that totemism as an institution was falling into decay for a long period before the arrival of civilization in the Gilbert Islands. This is emphasized by the comment of many old men, when asked whether all the members of their clans in former days refrained from eating the flesh of their sacred animals. Their usual answer to this question is, “Those who took notice of such things were afraid to eat.” This implies that many disregarded the restriction. There were one or two clans, however, in which respect for the totem seems always to have retained its full force. Of these, the most striking example is the clan of Keaki. This social group has preserved even to the present day an unconquerable aversion to eating the flesh of the giant ray or the red-tailed tropic-bird. Its members will still refuse even to share a pipe or a drinking vessel with a person who has been known to partake of the flesh of either of these creatures. The belief is that an offence against the totem will be visited by swellings of the skin called *te rabarabataki.* Among all the clans which

have a variety of ray as a totem, esteem for the sacred creature seems to have preserved its full strength, and those groups whose totem is the shark are also notable in this respect. The regard for other creatures varies from island to island. For example, the carangoid fish called *te rereba,* a creature associated with four of the groups listed above, is still held in the greatest deference on Beru, Nikunau, and other southern islands, while in Abaiang, Tarawa, and the northern Gilberts generally, it is hardly remembered in connection with these clans. On the other hand the sand-snipe, a second totem of the same groups, retains a good deal of esteem in the north, while more or less disregarded (though still remembered) in the south.

Table 6. Totems associated with Gilbertese clans

CLAN	TOTEM
Korongoa n Uea	Sun (secret); Shark; *kanawa* tree; Cockerel; Wind
Karongoa Raereke	Shark; *kanawa* tree; Cockerel; Wind
Taunnamo	
Antekanawa	
Katanrake	
Te Bakoa	Shark (Tabuariki)
Karumaetoa	Shark (Bakoa)
Tebakababaka	Giant ray; Shark
Keaki	Tropic-bird; Giant ray; Bêche-de-mer
Kaburara	Giant ray; Creeper called *tarai*
Kaotirama	Sting ray (small grey) called *buatara*
Bangauma	Sting ray (called “man-headed”)

Clan	Totem
Te Ba Te Kirikiri Tabiang Namakaina	Sand-snipe; a fish called *rereba*
Te O Umanikamauri	Tern; Pemphis tree
Ababou Maerua	Porpoise; Sun; Coral called *rirongo*
Tekokona	Porpoise
Nei Ati	Octopus; Garfish
Benuakura	A red bird of myth called *aromatang*
Katannaki	A stone called Nei Temaiti
Te Wiwi	Fragraea tree; Conch
Nikumauea	Eel; Centipede
Bakarawa	Brittle Starfish
Tabukaokao	Crab called Nei Tenaotarai
Teborauea	Turtle; Noddy; Ladybird; a bush called Ibi; and a legendary creature called Te Kekenu, which is described as a “lizard three fathoms long with a very hard skin,” almost certainly alluding to an alligator or other saurian.

Note: For other Totem Lists, differently arranged, see Table 5, and Grimble 1933–1934, facing p. 20.

The cause of such local inequalities as these may perhaps be found in the marked tendency of all the clans to pitch upon one particular creature or object among a group of perhaps several associated totems for especial veneration above the others. With this eclectic tendency working towards the classification of totems into principal and subsidiary grades, it would need nothing more than some purely local circumstance to sway the preference in favour of this totem or that, and in such a way it might happen that mere accidents of environment would establish the precedence of the sand-snipe (to take a concrete example) over the *rereba* in the north, and reverse the order of prestige in the south.

The form of respect paid to the totem naturally differed according to its nature. A living creature must not be killed or injured; an edible creature must not be eaten. The theory about eating the totem was that it resulted in incest. The totem was flesh of a man's flesh, it was a permanent member of his clan; it was, in fact, the clan. If a man was sufficiently shameless to eat his own clan, he would not scruple afterwards to have connection with his own sister. This is the explanation exactly as given to me by the old man Teata of Abaiang, and corroborated by about thirty others present at the same time.

If the totem were a tree, it must not be climbed, for fear of offending it; nor must its flowers be picked.

A stone or a piece of coral must not be trodden upon. The wind or the sun must not be alluded to disrespectfully by those who claimed them as totems. For example, in waiting at sea for a breeze, a Karongoa man must not make an impatient remark about its tardy arrival. And this obligation of respectful speech also applied to such mythical totem creatures as the bird Aromatang of the Benuakura clan, and the Kekenu of Teborauea, which necessarily had to be honoured in absence.

In accordance with the patrilineal nature of descent in the clan, it was the father's totem which received the greatest deference, but a man would also respect the totem of his mother, and generally that of his wife too.

Although one might not pick the flowers of the totem tree, it was permissible to gather up those which fell to the ground and to make wreaths of them. Such wreaths constituted in fact the badge of a man's social group, since no other clan was permitted to use the flowers of that species of tree for personal adornment. This rule was, however, modified on the northern islands to the extent that the right to use such flowers could be inherited through the mother. But no such relaxation of the

custom was made in respect of the feathers cast from the tail of the red-tailed tropic-bird, which might only be worn by the clan of Keaki.

There seems to have been no occasion in the life of a Gilbertese native when the totem was ceremonially eaten or sacrificed.

The physical connection between the clan and the totem varies in degree. It has been seen above that in connection with edible creatures it is very evident, the animal being flesh of the clan's flesh. Sometimes there is a direct tradition of descent from a totem; at other times there is a belief in descent from some person closely allied to it; in a third class of cases there is only a vague ancestral link with the creature or object; and occasionally there is none at all discoverable.

a. Of the four totems of the Karongoa groups, although the shark seems always to have been the most universally prominent, it is from the *kanawa* tree that direct descent is the more explicitly traced. Tradition states that in the darkness of chaos grew two *kanawa* trees, a male and a female. Their branches intertwined in the darkness, and from the union sprang the first ancestors of Karongoa, who eventually migrated from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands.

Another tradition which clearly reflects a belief in descent from the totem is the migration story of the tropic-bird folk, which is examined in the section dealing with the origins of the various maneaba. After relating the manner of the invasion of Makin by the tropic-bird from Samoa, and the death of this creature, the tradition describes the birth of Koura and his red-skinned brothers from its decaying head. It is from the Koura breed that the clan of Keaki is descended and the tropic-bird is one of the totems of this group.

A third clear case of totem-descent is that of the Ababou and Maerua clans. The ancestors of these groups were Bue and his brother Rirongo, who were themselves the sons of the Sun by their mother Matamona. The Sun is the most important of the three totems of these two clans.

b. In a slightly different category are the five clans of Nukumauea, Teborauea, Te Bakoa, Karumaetoa, and Buatara. The ancestors, and at the same time the gods, of these groups are respectively Riki-the-Eel, Tabakea-the-Turtle, Tabuariki-the-Shark, Bakoa-the-Shark, and Buatara-the-Sting ray. These ancestor-gods are anthropomorphically conceived by Gilbertese of the present day, but they are reputed to have had the power of assuming the forms of the creatures connected with their

names. In every case, the beast thus physically associated with the ancestor is the totem of the clan, clearly suggesting a fundamental belief in descent from the sacred creature, or to be more exact from the ancestor in the form of the sacred creature. Tabuariki-the-Shark is also the ancestor-god of the Karongoa groups, and it is in conjunction with this being that the shark totem is venerated by them. As I have already shown, these groups have also a tradition of direct descent from the *kanawa* tree; we therefore have here an example of duplication of beliefs, in which the same clans trace lineal descent from two separate and distinct totems.

c. The tradition of the clan of Benuakura gives us an instance in which the sacred creature, while not a lineal ancestor, is believed to have been a close relation of the group-progenitor. The following is a translation of the myth as given to me by the old man Rarawete of Beru:

> Nei Rarobu was a woman of Nabanaba in the west. She lay with the man Tangata; their first child was the bird Aromatang, the man eater, and their second child was Teibiaro. Teibiaro was born before his time and his mother threw him away into the sea with the afterbirth. He floated away, and was stranded on the island of Roro. He grew up and lay with a woman of Roro, whose name was Nei Arotaing. She bore him two children, Komwenga, a man, and Nei Arotiurenga, a woman.
>
> When Komwenga and Nei Arotiurenga grew up, a canoe was built for them, and they sailed eastwards away from Roro. As they went, the woman was snatched away from the canoe by a great fish called Ikati-neaba, and she went to live in Mone under the sea. But Komwenga sailed the southern sea and came to the land of Samoa. There he lived, and he caused his hair to be cut and he did magic to make him a fierce fighter. And when he was ready, he sailed back to Nabanaba, where his grandmother lived; and there he slew the bird Aromatang, the man-eater, who was his father's brother. And he took its feathers, which were red, and its head also, as a crest for his canoe. He called his canoe crest Te Nimtawawa [1] : it is the crest of the people of Benuakura; and their totem *(atua)* is the bird Aromatang; and their ancestors are Komwenga, and Teibiaro the brother of Aromatang.

According to this tradition, therefore, the totem of the Benuakura clan is held to have been the own brother of the ancestor, a form of belief which still clearly emphasizes the physical connection between the creature and the social group.

d. The next category of totems consists of those creatures or objects which are said to have been particularly beloved or esteemed by the ancestor-gods of the various clans, but from which there is no tradition of direct descent. These are as follows:

GIANT RAY of Keaki and Tebakabaka; the creature of the ancestral goddess Tituabine.
COCKEREL of Karongoa clans; beloved of the ancestor-god Tabuariki.
TERN of Te O and Umanikamauri groups; belonging to the ancestor-god Auriaria.
SAND-SNIPE and CARANGOID FISH *(rereba)* of Te Ba, Tekirikiri, Tabiang, and Namakaina; the messengers of the ancestor-god Taburimai.
CRAB of Tabukaokao; beloved of the ancestral-goddess Nei Tenaotarai.
WIND of Karongoa clans; one of the instruments of Tabuariki the ancestor-god. It is difficult to understand why, on the same grounds, thunder and lightening are not also totems of this clan, since they too were believed to be directed by Tabuariki.
CONCH of Te Wiwi; held as a totem because the ancestor-god Te I-Mone, who is sovereign of the region under the sea, is believed to have made the first conch and to have used it for summoning to assembly the spirits of the underworld.
NODDY and the mythical saurian called Te Kekenu of Teborauea; used as messengers by the ancestor-god Tabakea-the-Turtle.
LADYBIRD of the same group; supposed to be the terrestrial counterpart of the turtle, which is the principal totem of this clan.
Ibi- B USU of the same group; reputed to have been the favourite plant of Tabakea-the-Turtle.

e. We now come to a class of totems which tradition vaguely connects with a god or an ancestor, but concerning which any suggestion of physical association with the clans that might once have existed, has been finally submerged. To this class belong:

PORPOISE of Ababou and Maerua. This creature is associated with the ancestor Bue, the story of whose visit to his father, the Sun, is exhibited elsewhere. [2] One of the gifts made by the Sun to Bue was a ringstraked staff called the *kaini*

kamate 'the staff-to-kill', together with a complete set of incantations for the subjugation of the porpoise at sea. Since then the descendants of Bue have refrained from killing the porpoise, and have made it one of their totems.

BRITTLE STARFISH of Bakarawa. Tradition says that this totem was taken in commemoration of the foolishness of the twin ancestors Baba-ma-Bono (Fool and Deaf-mute). On a day when the people of Samoa were indulging in the sport of *Kaunibatua,* that is, the matching of small fierce fish called Batua, these two ancestors brought a brittle starfish *(kikonang)* to fight for them, since when their descendants have used this creature as a totem in reminiscence of the ancestral foolishness.

PEMPHIS TREE of Te O and Umanikamauri. To the Gilbertese mind, the small wizened leaves of the *Pemphis acidula (te ngea)* are comparable to the hair of the ancestor-god Auriaria. The hair of this god and his companions, Taburimai and Tabuariki, is described in tradition as standing out from the head with small thick curls at the tips. The *ngea* is taken as a totem in commemoration of this.

f. The last category of totems is composed of creatures and plants which seem to have no connection at all with either gods or ancestors. I have no doubt that defective enquiry and the forgetfulness of informants are at least partly responsible for this lack of association. The following list may serve as a guide to others more skilled in eliciting facts:

BÊCHE-DE-MER *(kereboki)* of Keaki
CENTIPEDE *(roata)* of Nikumauea
A CREEPER *(tarai)* of Kaburara
Uri TREE (*Fragraea* sp.) of Te Wiwi
STING RAY (*atun aomata* or "man-headed") of Bangauma

PORPOISE of Tekokona. In connection with this, it may be remarked that the clan ancestor, Kotua, is said by tradition to have accompanied the ancestor Bue of Ababou on a migration from Tarawa to Beru. As we have seen, the porpoise is one of the totems of Bue's descendants. It may be that Kotua was a member of Bue's group and established a separate clan on Beru, taking the porpoise of Bue as a totem.

OCTOPUS and GARFISH of Nei Ati

This survey of our material has therefore shown us three totems from which direct descent in the clan is explicitly traced and five more which are hardly less clearly recognizable as group ancestors. Of a type very closely allied to these eight is the totem of Benuakura from whose own brother the clan shows descent. Ten other creatures and objects venerated by various groups were seen to be closely attached by tradition to the person of ancestor-gods, while a further group of three was found, though more vaguely, to be associated with clan progenitors. Only eight remain out of thirty which cannot in one way or another be connected with the ancestor idea. It is thus clear that the totemism of the Gilberts was underlaid by the belief in descent from the creature, plant, or other object that was the object of esteem, or from some person or being to whom the totem stood in an intimate relation.

The services, if any, expected from the totem by the clan, were usually of a negative order, and in all cases were supposed to be conditional upon the individual's observance of a proper respect towards the creature concerned. A man of Nukumauea who habitually refrained from injuring the centipede expected exemption from the sting of this creature, and would even claim the power of handling it without harmful results to himself. In like manner he would be fearless of injury from the eel, another totem of his clan, while swimming in a conger-infested part of the lagoon. Members of clans possessing the shark totem had not the horror of this fish evinced by other folk, and the immunity from its attack to which they pretended seems to have extended to all the species of man-eating sharks known in these waters. The Ababou, Maerua, and Tekokona clans similarly believed that they were not liable to the assault of the porpoise on the high seas; they also claimed the faculty of calling the sacred mammal to swim by their canoes and protect them from other fierce creatures of the ocean. This protective capacity of the porpoise is an example of active services rendered by the totem. Another illustration of direct help is seen in the story of Nareau's voyage to Samoa, with his three sons, exhibited elsewhere. [3] In this story the heroes were given as food by the people of Samoa a heap of coconut husks and stalks, and were told that if they failed to eat it they would be killed.

To surmount this difficulty, Na Areau said to his sons, "Hide it until tonight, and then the *kekenu* will eat it." When night came the *kekenu* consumed the unsavoury food and so saved their lives. As we have seen, this mythical creature is described

as a “lizard three fathoms long with a very hard skin,” that is, almost certainly an alligator or other saurian, and is the totem of the clan Teborauea.

Another example of totem helpfulness is shown in a belief of three clans, whose creature is the sand-snipe. These groups claim that the bird constantly watches their coconut plantations and will fly to warn them when any thief comes to steal their nuts or toddy. But of all the creatures which are supposed to help their clansmen in danger or trouble by far the best known is the ray.

It is still emphatically claimed by the people of Keaki and Tebakabaka (giant ray), Kaotirama (small grey sting ray), and Bangauma (“man-headed” sting ray) that, if one of the clan members is in danger of drowning, an immense ray will float to the surface beside him and, after he has taken his seat upon it, will carry him safe to shore. There is hardly a native in the Gilberts who does not know of this belief, though there are a great many who are ignorant of the totems of their own clans.

There seems to be no trace in the group of a belief in the entry of the ghost after death into the body of the totem, but throughout the islands there is a very intimate association of the sacred creature with death. It was believed that, providing the proper ceremonial for “straightening the path” of the departing soul had been performed, it would be met by the ancestral shades and the clan totems and conducted by them safely to the other world of Bouru and Matang. Some of the sacred creatures —the three species of ray, the turtle, the eel, and the *rereba*—were considered to be the actual vehicles of the ghost, upon which it was transported to the land of shades; others—the tern, the noddy, the sand-snipe, and the tropic-bird—did not carry the departed, but flew before him as he followed in the company of his ancestors.

These beliefs only applied, however, if the body was buried in the extended position with feet to westward. And this orientation of the body, on the great majority of islands, was only permissible when the relations of the deceased knew how to perform, or could pay an expert to perform, the magic *tabeatu* ‘lifting-the-head” by which the path of the ghost was “straightened.” The orientation of the body with feet to westward enabled the departed to arise from his grave facing the west, and so to proceed without confusion to the western horizon where the totems and ancestors awaited him. Those who were buried with feet to north were not met by the totem. We thus seem to have evidence of a culture complex in which

belief in the totem is associated with interment of the dead in an extended position, with feet to westward, and with the magic called *tabe-atu.* To this complex we may also add the organization of society into exogamous clans with patrilineal descent, and the cult of the ancestor.

A striking feature of the totemism of the group is the frequency with which several clans together are seen to share the same set of totems. Thus, no fewer than five groups—the two Karongoa, Taunnamo, Antekanawa, and Katanrake—share between them the shark, *kanawa,* cockerel, and wind totems. A sixth, Te Bakoa, links itself with these by its possession of the shark. [4] Three other clans—Te Ba, Te Kirikiri, and Tabiang—have in common the sand-snipe and the carangoid fish called *rereba;* while two more—Ababou and Maerua—share porpoise, sun, and coral. To these latter a third attached itself by its porpoise totem, namely the clan of Tekokona. And lastly, the two groups called Te O and Umanikamauri have in common the tern and the pemphis tree.

Almost invariably, when the totems coincide, the names of the clan-ancestors are the same. The five groups having the shark, *kanawa,* cockerel, and wind totems in common, all claim Tabuariki and Matawarebwe as their progenitors. Te Bakoa, which shares the shark totems with these clans also shares the ancestor-god Tabuariki. The three groups linked together by sand-snipe and *rereba* all claim descent from the same ancestor-god Taburimai. Those sharing porpoise, sun, and coral also trace their lines back to the same pair of brothers, Bue and Rirongo. The two tern and pemphis groups have the common god-ancestor Auriaria. There is, in fact, only one exception to this rule—that of the clan Tekokona, which has the porpoise-totem of Ababou and Maerua, but a different ancestor. But in this case, too, tradition supplies an ancestral link, for the progenitor of Tekokona, Kotua, is named as a companion of Bue and Rirongo, forefathers of Ababou and Maerua, on their migration from Tarawa to Beru. It seems evident therefore that some close tie existed in early days between these groups.

Another noticeable feature connected with clans which share the same totems is that their sitting-places *(boti)* in the maneaba are almost invariably grouped together. This was found to be the case, for instance, in a Maungatabu-style Marakei maneaba checked by me where, however, the sitting-place of Antekanawa did not appear, as that clan had no representative on the island. In a Maungatabu maneaba on Beru, Antekanawa had its *boti* on the north side of Katanrake and

the five clans Karongoa n Uea, Karongoa Raereke, Katanrake, Antekanawa, and Taunnamo—which share the same totems and trace their descent from the same ancestors—have their sitting-places ranged in a solid and continuous block along the eastern side of the edifice. The sixth clan of Te Bakoa, which has the shark totem in common with these, is also included in the compact array.

In the same manner the three clans of Tekirikiri, Teba, and Tabiang, descended from a single ancestor and venerating the same creatures, sit in an unbroken line under the northern gable; while Maerua and Ababou, whose totems and ancestors are identical, are together in the middle of the western side. The *boti* of the clan Tekokona is unrepresented on Marakei, but in the southern islands it is placed on the northern flank of Ababou, which is what we should have expected in view of the fact that it shares the porpoise totem with Ababou and Maerua. Last of all, the clans of Te O and Umanikamauri, who share the ancestor-god Auriaria and the tern and pemphis totems, though not side by side in the Marakei maneaba, are separated only by the clan of Keaki, while in the Tabiteuea and Beru maneaba they may be seen actually united, the Umanikamauri group on those islands taking its seat between Te O and Keaki.

The possession of common ancestors, gods, and totems obviously indicated that the closest of relations once existed between the clans concerned. It seems a reasonable inference that whencesoever a group of two or three or more clans thus intimately associated may have come, they came from the same place, shared the same culture, and took part in the same migration. The compact arrangement of their sitting-places in the maneaba suggests further the most deliberate intention of keeping together in order to show, as it were, a solid front in all public or ceremonial gatherings. This of course connotes a clear recognition of common ties and a definite will to keep them in mind.

It is therefore rather surprising to find that each of these groups is an independent exogamous unit. One would have expected that marriage would be prohibited between members of clans sharing the same totems and ancestors. But there is no such restriction. A man of Karongoa n Uea may as easily marry a woman of Karongoa Raereke as a woman of some group with totally different ancestors and totems.

This is so much at variance with the ideas underlying the strict organization of society into exogamous totemic groups that it would seem at first sight to indicate that these ideas

in the Gilbert Islands were in an advanced stage of decay. But this certainly does not agree with the facts. For although the totemism of the group is not so clear-cut as it may have been originally, in that a certain laxity with regard to the sacred creatures or objects is sometimes apparent, the information collected in this section shows that it still retained a considerable force of social significance up to the arrival of European civilization. The dominance of the idea of clan exogamy in the regulation of marriage is still one of the most striking features in the organization of the *boti* system.

Yet it is obvious that intermarriage between clans using the same sacred creatures must be the result of some modification of the original system—that is to say if, as I am assuming to be the case, the original system of Gilbertese totemism was generically the same as the most typical examples to be found in Oceania, and particularly in Melanesia. There are three primary processes through which such modifications might possibly have arisen. One is the fusion of cultures, in the course of which a certain number of the elements of two systems blend to form a hybrid structure, while a certain number are discarded and lost. A second possible process is that of the progressive decay or abrasion of a system under the external influence of a foreign mode of thought, which while acting as the catalytic agent giving impetus to the change, leaves no concrete elements embedded in the organization thus affected. And a third process of social modification may take its inception from the action of material and physical necessity upon the organization of a migrant people.

It seems to be just within the range of possibility that the intermarriage of clans having the same sacred creatures may have come about, under rather special conditions, through the fusion of two social systems. Suppose the Gilbert Islands to have been overrun by an immigrant people having a culture very similar to that of the invaded folk, and being, in fact, a branch of the same original race, with its social institutions only slightly differentiated by residence elsewhere. In such circumstances, both invaders and invaded might be found to acknowledge the same ancestors and gods, to venerate the same totems, and to have preserved approximately the same sitting-places in their respective maneaba. In the settling down that would follow the immigration, a reorganization of the *boti* in the maneaba would take place; the conquering immigrants would wish to keep their own hereditary status, and they would also desire to keep their clans separate and distinct from the corresponding clans of the

conquered; at the same time, it would be the aim of the conquered to retain as far as possible their ancient *boti,* and they would take places as near to them as the space needs of the immigrants permitted. In this way it might happen that groups of several clans having identical totems and ancestors would be found sitting side by side in the maneaba. Intermarriage between such clans would be rendered possible by the refusal of the immigrants to recognize such close relationship with the clans of the conquered as would be implied by an admission of the strict prohibitions of exogamy. An incentive to such an attitude of the immigrants would be their need for a wide scope in the selection of wives, since probably but few women would have accompanied their migration.

That such an explanation of the problem is within the range of possibility appears from an examination of Gilbertese tradition, which leads us to the conclusion that the Samoan invaders of the group, some twenty-five generations ago, were but the returning remnant of a swarm which had passed through and colonised these islands centuries earlier on its way to Samoa. Such a return after some centuries of separate social development, of a people having the same ancestry as the invaded, gives us the conditions postulated in the foregoing hypothesis.

Nevertheless, although a duplication of clans owning identical totems, accompanied by a possibility of intermarriage between them might be satisfactorily explained by such a combination of circumstances as I have suggested (and actually did take place), it is difficult to see how the same conditions can have been wholly responsible for a multiplication into six, as illustrated by the Karongoa and associated groups. While bearing in mind, therefore, that the return from Samoa of a body of people having a social organization closely related to that of the autochthonous Gilbertese may have been one of the causes of an increase in the number of clans reverencing the same totems, and may at the same time have contributed towards the facilitation of intermarriage among them, we cannot regard it as the sole cause of such social phenomena, nor indeed, I think, as the principal one.

The second process suggested by which the modification of totemic exogamy might have been set in motion is that of the progressive decay of a social scheme under the external influence of a foreign mode of thought. But as I have already

pointed out, the vigour of totemic idea in the Gilberts up to the coming of European civilization seems to have put this proposal out of court.

We are left with the third suggestion, that the condition under our observation came about in answer to the pressure of material and physical necessity upon the social existence of a migrant people. If it was indeed due to such causes, it seems to follow that it must have been a deliberately adopted social expedient—in fact, a primitive sociological experiment—since a material and physical necessity is consciously felt, and as consciously remedied.

The suggestion that I offer is that the multiplication of social groups having the same totems and ancestors, together with the permissibility of marriage between them, were modifications of the social system deliberately adopted to evade difficulties connected with marriage. Two difficulties of this kind would face a not very numerous swarm of people with a marriage system based on totem exogamy, such as I suppose the immigrants of Samoa into the group to have been. First, it is almost certain that only a limited number of women would accompany them; and second, if such immigrants were only a fragment of the race that was dispersed from Samoa, it is also probable that only a limited number of clans reached the group. A strict adherence, under such conditions, to the rigid system of totem exogamy would render it impossible for many of the young men to find wives at all. This difficulty would have an easy solution if the people found by the immigrants were of another race, with a different social organization; for in this case there would be no restriction on the choice of wives from among the autochthonous folk. But our traditional evidence has led us to the conclusion that the invaders from Samoa were a returned branch of the same race as that which inhabited the Gilbert Islands. They therefore must have found on arrival many of the exogamous clans which they themselves represented, and with which they consequently could not contract marriages, if they adhered strictly to custom. It may be argued that this again would constitute no real difficulty, as there were probably plenty of other local clans with which alliances would be permissible. But in answer to this, particular emphasis must be laid upon the point that the present clan system, of which we are analysing the peculiarities, is essentially a one-island system: it was developed on the single atoll of Beru and spread through the whole group (with the exception of Butaritari and Makin), by the Beru swarm which, ten generations ago, established con-

quering chiefs on every unit of the archipelago. Without a single exception, the clans of the thirteen islands thus conquered trace their descent from a Beru conqueror. Our task is thus to search for the possible causes that led to certain social modifications on a single unit of the group, namely Beru, as a result of the immigration from Samoa some twenty-five generations ago.

Within the narrow limits of a single island, it is easy to conceive that only a restricted number of the social groups then existing (if many did exist) up and down the group were represented. We have only to imagine the arrival on such an island of a relatively numerous body of immigrants, whose own women were very few, and whose social groups coincided with most of those found in occupation, in order to discover a possible reason for the multiplication of clans having the same totems and ancestors, and for the breaking down of prohibitions on intermarriage between them. First, the large addition to the male population would create an immediate local shortage of potential wives: there would not be enough women to go round invaders and invaded. And second, among the few local clans into which marriage, by strict custom, would be permissible, the immigrants alone would find little scope for the selection of wives. If the principles of rigid totem exogamy were adhered to, there would be no cure for the difficulty.

I suggest that deliberate expedients were adopted to meet the emergency. The first may have been that suggested earlier in this discussion, namely, the refusal of the immigrants to recognize such close relationship with the clans of the invaded as would prohibit the members of their own corresponding clans from intermarriage with them. Such a resource would result in the duplication of intermarriageable totem-groups; and these groups would probably acquire different names in the course of time, if indeed their separate local histories had not already resulted in a disparity of names at the epoch of the return from Samoa.

This artificial enlargement of the scope within which a wife could be sought might possibly satisfy the immediate wants of the immigrants, but only if they monopolized the women of the island at the expense of the marriageable men among the autochthones. And we can hardly suppose that it was only the new newcomers who entered into a marriage relation at this time. Further, even if they did create such a monopoly the great surplus of men over women would make itself felt not only in that but in the succeeding generation, while the prohibitions attaching to consanguinity, as a concept entirely distinct from

that of clan organization, would interact with totem exogamy to create further impediments to easy marriage. It would require some additional expedient to adjust the organization to local requirements, and I suggest that the contrivance adopted was the breaking up of the clans into separate septs, still linked together by the same totems and ancestors, and still massed together on ceremonial occasions in the maneaba, but regarded for the purposes of marriage as independent exogamous units. [5]

PART 3

Essays on Mythology, History, and Dancing

The Historical Content of Gilbertese Mythology

The universal belief of the modern Gilbertese race is that its forefathers came from Samoa: they grew up on the branches of the ancestral Tree in Upolu, and lived in the land until the Tree was broken. When that catastrophe came upon them they scattered over the ocean to populate other islands. The adventures and the canoe names of a few who reached the Gilbert Islands have been preserved.

The Samoan tradition is set out clearly in their myths and legends—a huge mass of material indicating that Samoa was the last home of the race before it reached the Gilbert Islands and that Samoa, and Samoa alone, was the ancestral land of the race.

There are, indeed, preserved in these traditions a few faint memories of a remoter fatherland, such as the opening phrase of a Tabiteuean myth: "The First Tree was called Te Bakatibu Tai 'The Ancestor Sun' and it stood on the land of Abatoa." But words of this sort, though pregnant with meaning for us, are repeated parrot-wise, without understanding, by modern island chroniclers, whose answer to all queries is "we do not know what it means; we learned it from our ancestors," or at the most "the lands before Samoa were slave lands and spirit lands." And following on such digressions almost invariably comes an unqualified statement of the race creed: "Samoa was the first human land; there grew our ancestors."

There is reason to conclude, however, that the Gilbertese race was in the Gilbert Islands long before it ever reached Samoa; that before it migrated to Upolu it became a mixture of brown-skin and black-skin on the atolls of Micronesia. If this was so, then the planting of the ancestral Tree on Upolu was merely an invasion of Samoa from the north by this Taburimai-Nareau folk; and the coming of the Tree-people from Samoa to the Gilbert Group was but a reflux along the invasion track.

It is my view that we can, indeed, go back even further in the traceable history of the Gilbertese, to a time when we find a black people for centuries alone in its occupation of the Gilbert Islands, or at least of the northern half of the group. Furthermore, it is possible to trace even these autochthons to a homeland in the west.

Sweeping down upon these original inhabitants, also from the west, came a brown folk who, with numbers perhaps no greater than those of the Melanesian indigenes, contrived to win a foothold on the atolls. Then came the rivalries and bitterness recorded in the Nareau-Taburimai traditions.

The result of this strife, or more probably of the over-population caused by the amalgamation of the two races, was a general exodus southwards. Down the chain of central oceanic islands sailed a now-mixed Taburimai-Nareau folk, searching for new homes, until it came to Upolu of Samoa. There they settled for a long period, long enough indeed for them to style themselves autochthons of that land, yet not for so long that they had forgotten the way back to their home in the atolls, for when their Tree on Upolu was shattered and their families were dispersed, some of them were able to return on the old track and repopulate the Gilbert Group. But that was only after a struggle with their own ancestral kin, whose forebears had not joined in the migration to Samoa.

Such, stripped of all detail, is the series of events in Gilbertese race history which I shall try to illustrate from the fragments of tradition wrung, in six years' delightful toil, from the Islanders. Without pausing to comment upon its possible connections with general migration movements in the Pacific, I shall pass at once to an examination of the material collected, attempting to assign to each set of traditions its period of origin and to indicate the inferences that may be drawn therefrom.

THE STRATA OF GILBERTESE MYTH

It is evident that the fragmentary theogonies given in the creation myths are composites of more than one system, and that the alternative traditions connected with the land of shades and the origin of fire have been inherited from diverse sources. They have been stratified by the impingement of race on race, and the superposition of the conqueror's creed upon that of the conquered.

The manner in which two systems blend, and the nature of the resultant stratification, depend upon the circumstances under which they have come into contact. The most complete and wholesale results are, no doubt, achieved by migration, followed by conquest or absorption of races; but striking innovations may be wrought in the religion of a people by accidents of which history takes no cognisance.

The arrival of some far-wandered castaway, who has a tale to tell or a trick of magic to display, may be responsible for the adoption of a new god or a series of new gods. This would be more especially possible in the Gilbert Islands, where priesthood is a purely family matter, and where the matriarchate seems to be so evenly balanced against the patriarchate. A castaway there would only need to take a wife, and teach her all his craft, for the new cult to be established. Their children, both male and female, would inherit and pass it on in their turn, thus launching it on its progress through the generations as part of the ever-spreading family traditions, and the god or gods concerned would automatically take a place in the village pantheon. Further they would follow the womenfolk in their alliances with other families, and gradually permeate the race-tradition.

This is strikingly illustrated in the Gilbert Group at the very moment of writing. A mere handful of Fijians, imported for constabulary purposes and married to Gilbertese wives, has already succeeded in establishing a new form of medicinal art, with its paraphernalia of magic and mummery, which bear in their train the usual array of deities and devils. One of the gods concerned has been allotted a role in the creation drama by a chronicler of Abaiang Island.

Again, under mission influence, the persons of Ieowa ‘Jehova’ and Ietukirito ‘Jesus Christ’ are beginning, even among pagan families, to rank among the deities of the creation myth, though no active parts are yet assigned to them—“They stood on a high place and looked on.” But the name of Mary is already being confused, in villages of the north, with that of Tituabine, the blonde ancestral goddess whose creature, the giant ray, is believed to have cut heaven and earth asunder. Here we have a curious glimpse at the vicissitudes of the gods, when they are bandied from system to system. Mary, by reason of a chance resemblance to a local deity, looms larger in her new setting than the Christian Father and Son, though all three were transposed at the same period.

Even the names of the Apostles figure in charms and incantations of modern growth. They are invoked by pagan natives in rites connected with house-building, navigation, agriculture, and even love-making. Given time and the apposite accidents of history, they would have every chance of ultimate promotion to a place in the Darkness and Cleaving Together—that waste-paper basket of beings whose antecedents are forgotten.

So much for fortuitous accretions to island mythology. They are important because they can well prove misleading, by accidentally achieving a local salience out of proportion with their origins.

The most fruitful cause of stratification is certainly the war of conquest. A victorious invader in the Pacific is seldom accompanied by his women; therefore, although he may have reduced some local population to a state of serfdom or outlawry, wherein its traditions are in danger of obliteration, he must still depend upon it for his wives. These wives keep alive in the household of the conqueror many autochthonous rites, customs, and traditions that would otherwise have suffered oblivion. This intramural process must necessarily be affected by the social relations of conqueror and conquered. If, as might happen on a large island, the beaten people retired to the interior, and a long period of feud preceded the ultimate fusion of the two peoples, the composite theology of the united folk would in after times reflect the ancestral hatred, and show some very distinct lines of cleavage. The gods of victors and vanquished would not dwell together in unity. The former would usurp the realms of heavenly space and light; the latter would be deposed therefrom and, perhaps, thrust into the infernal regions. A good illustration of both cases is to be found in the single person of Polynesian Tangaroa. In the western groups he is a son of Heaven, a sun-god, a lord of light, even light itself—in short, the god of a conquering race. In the eastern groups he is a spirit of the underworld, a lord of darkness, an evil and fearsome being—the god of a race conquered indeed, but terrible still in conquest.

But if the invasion of an island or group is followed, not by a long-drawn feud, but by a more or less peaceful absorption of races, one into the other, the result is likely to be a confusion rather than a sharply defined stratification of theogonies. This is what would almost certainly happen on small islands like those of the Gilbert Group. On such atolls, devoid of geographical accidents and having no interior to which a conquered race might flee, victor and vanquished must live cheek by jowl, and under such conditions it would take very few generations for the two

peoples to interpermeate one another, while their theogonies would suffer a like fusion. As a result, the distinction between gods of heaven and the underworld would lack clearness; a medley of deities would rather be found, vaguely set in chaos, and mutually tinged so strongly, after centuries of association, with one another's colours, that it would be difficult to disengage them into their original groupings.

Yet there cannot exist a complete amity from the outset between two rival races brought thus into intimate contact. However complete the fusion of blood in after days, there must be an initial period of hate and intrigue, perhaps the more bitter because of the confined space into which invader and invaded are crammed. Such rivalry would almost certainly become the subject of a race-tradition subsisting long after the amalgamation of the conflicting stocks, and an excellent example of it is to be seen in the Nareau exploits.

THE NAREAU EXPLOITS

In these tales, we have a clear-cut picture of the feuds carried on, up and down the Gilbert Islands, between two entirely distinct races: the one of stunted physique, black skin, strong odour, and woolly head, with huge ears and face "covered with scars," which is to say, cicatrised instead of tattooed—the typical Melanesian, terrible in war and skilled in the black arts; the other of great stature and fair skin, having the hair curly at the ends and trained to stand high on the head—a Melano-Polynesian type, as it would seem.

In spite of a tendency, which the Gilbertese have in common with most Polynesian races, to confuse the geographical milieu of their ancient traditions, and to relate events as if they had happened locally, I think we need have no suspicion that these feud stories were transported from some former home to Micronesia. The rivalry between black-skin and brown-skin, as respectively typified by Nareau and the people of Taburimai, arose in the Gilbert Islands, as its intimate association with local place names alone suggests. Further, all the Gilbertese-speaking communities remember these Nareau exploits and all are agreed as to the names of the particular islands on which the events took place.

The narratives show clearly that black-skinned Nareau was the original settler, while brown-skinned Taburimai was the intruder; and these are notable facts for, in the ultimate blend of

race theogonies and traditions, it is Nareau, the invaded, whose vile tricks upon the invaders are always successful. From this we are to gather that, though Taburimai and his light-skinned companions were strong enough to force a footing on the islands, they eventually lost their preponderance, and were absorbed into the darker indigenes, whose creating spirit thus triumphed over that of the conquerors. Nevertheless, the balance of power could never have swung very violently from party to party, for though the creator of the black people reigned supreme, he reigned in a universe otherwise constructed on a Polynesian model: the Beginning was a darkness *(Bo)* and a cleaving together *(Maki)* of the elements, in true Maori style. Presuming this basic concept to belong to the races classified as Polynesian, it is safe to suppose that Taburimai the brown-skin and his people contributed it as their share of the confused cosmogony before us. Further, it was the paradise of the brown man that the amalgamated races eventually accepted, and it is Taburimai, Tabuariki, and the like who are now the objects of the ancestral cult from end to end of the group. Why, then, should the black Nareau reign supreme? The answer seems to be that the brown folk, having invaded the islands with a power sufficient to establish their religious system, were nevertheless at a later date forced to admit the ascendancy of the Nareau people, whose god was then enthroned on the apex of the structure.

Such a process might have been caused by some local upheaval, which reversed the fortunes of the respective peoples; or it may have been brought about by the mere cramming of the two races into the narrow confines of the islands and the importation of black wives into the households of the invaders.

NAUBWEBWE TRADITIONS

That a black folk was once in subjection to a brown seems to be clearly shown by the Naubwebwe traditions, where we see Naubwebwe portrayed as one of the bogeys who block the way of the departed souls to the land of Matang. Matang is palpably a paradise of the brown men, for it is inhabited by the blonde Tituabine, whose fathers were Tangaroa and Timirau, well known as fair-skins throughout Polynesia. [1] Naubwebwe, on the other hand, is an old black man, evidently no relation of the beings in Matang. His look is slavish; his occupation of cleaning up rubbish on the road is that of a slave; he grins

and grimaces like an idiot—or a slave, for the word *rang* applied to him in the context has both significations in Gilbertese; and he is dumb, which is the first mark of slavery in the estimation of the Islanders. Yet evidences of a former greatness still cling about him: his art is the *wau* 'cat's-cradle', of which he is the presiding deity, and in the changing patterns of the *wau,* as old men assert, an expert could portray the successive stages of creation. By his cat's-cradle, then, we may connect Naubwebwe with some forgotten creation myth, and it is quite possible that we have in him the creating spirit (or the high priest of a creating spirit) of a black people, flung into Hades and branded with slavery by the brown Matang-race. Evidently of the same complexion, and probably of the same obliterate theogony as Naubwebwe, are those dark-skinned, huge-eared, red-eyed, and cannibalistic hags who collaborate with him in barring the soul's progress to Paradise.

Turning now from the account of the spirit Naubwebwe to that of the man, or rather the eponymous clan, we see him first pictured as the uncouth slave of the king of Tarawa, burning his fingers at the cooking fire (a menial post), and getting his head broken for his pains. This is very much in keeping with the colours in which the Naubwebwe bogey is painted in the Matang myth; the condition of a god reflects the fate of his people.

But eventually, as the story shows, Naubwebwe made a lucky marriage, and with the help of his sons threw off the yoke of serfdom; he fled from island to island, relentlessly chased by his masters. At last, on the island of Tabiteuea, he was no longer persecuted by them, for the erstwhile slave and his sons "were very strong, and their family was mighty on Tabiteuea. So it is until this day." It would be very pertinent if we could now show the god of the Naubwebwe folk elevated, by this reversal in the fortunes of his eponyms, into a position of honour in the Gilbertese pantheon. But we cannot, first, because the successes of the clan were not of a scope far-reaching enough to affect the religious system of the Gilbertese race, and secondly, because the gods of Nimanoa, with whom Naubwebwe made his fortunate alliance, are those which their descendants have adopted. Nevertheless, in Nareau himself, the supreme, I apprehend that we see the god of people to whom the Naubwebwe clan was originally related. His ascendancy, and the amalgamation of the black and brown races in the Gilbert Group, had been accomplished at a date much earlier than the Nimanoa-Naubwebwe alliance, which happened

in about A.D. 1250; but to just such turnings of the table between the conflicting peoples as those now under discussion, I think we may attribute the pre-eminence of Nareau.

The Naubwebwe clan was, as I believe, a fraction of the black Nareau race, which had been reduced to slavery early in the struggle between autochthon and invader and therefore had not taken part in the fusion of the two stocks. Thus it remained of pure blood, and in subjection to the kings of Tarawa, until an alliance with the Nimanoa clan from Samoa gave it power, in the thirteenth century, to break its bonds and establish itself eventually on the island of Tabiteuea.

THE FOOLS AND DEAF-MUTES (BABA MA BONO)

A most interesting litter of personalities is the Company of Fools and Deaf-mutes, who, in nearly every creation story of the Gilbert Group, are said to have been Nareau's assistants or slave spirits in the lifting of heaven. Their confusion forms a notable commentary on the postulate that interpermeation rather than stratification of theogonies takes place when two alien races are cribbed together within very narrow areas.

Sandwiched between heaven and earth in the first darkness lie the Baba ma Bono, huddled, as it were, into that convenient limbo without respect for colour or association. Some are plainly related to the brown-skins, others as clearly to the dark race. Several have the rags of a former prestige still clinging to them, but of the vast majority all distinguishing features save the bare names have been swallowed up in forgetfulness. Their names are legion (hundreds are known to the native historians of the group), but dark or fair, obscure or distinguished in the parts they are said to have played in creation, they are united by a common brand: they were slaves; they were senseless and inert in their dark places between heaven and earth until their master Nareau bade them arise and do his work. [2]

The commonest form of tale in which one hears of the Fools and Deaf-mutes is exemplified by the Nonouti creation myth. According to this typical account, they were not created by Nareau, but were found asleep by him when he entered between heaven and earth. Their position reminds us at once of the children of Rangi and Papa in the Maori myth, and it is very interesting to note that the epithets applied to them by Nareau are precisely Rang and Baba. These words, in modern Gilbertese, mean respectively "mad" (or "slavish") and

"foolish." The inference is that the names of Rangi the Clear Sky and Papa the Earth Mother have fallen into such contempt with this race that they are now only applied to slaves, madmen, or idiots, and this seems to point to the subjugation of a Rangi and Papa people at some remote period in the history of one ancestral branch of the Islanders. Some faint reminiscence of the grief of Rangi and Papa when separated seems still to lurk in a song of Nareau, of which the opening words are, "Hark, hark! How it groans."

A curious Maiana account of creation, which goes nearer to an idea of an absolute Nareau than any other version, shows us how the Fools and Deaf-mutes were made from maggots by the creator. The same idea is presented in one of Turner's Samoan tales of how men and women grew from maggots on the creeper planted by Turu, daughter of the heavenly Tangaloa.

Accounts of the Baba ma Bono become confusing in the creation myths remaining for reference. A Beru version makes no mention of them in its rough prefatory cosmology, but places Riki the Eel, who by all other records was the chief of their number, under the Tree of Abatoa as Nareau's earliest ancestor.

In an equally rude cosmology constructed on Polynesian lines, a second Beru version descends the Baba ma Bono from Sand and Water in two successive generations. The elder generation consists of Riki the Eel, Tabakea the Turtle, two Sting Rays, and an unnamed multitude of others. These are born without senses, but their senior brother and sister, Na Atibu and Teakea (who are not Deaf-mutes) beget a second generation consisting of Teikawai 'The Eldest', Nei Marena 'The Woman Between', Te Nao 'The Wave', and Na Kika 'The Octopus', who also remain senseless until raised by Nareau the Younger. The most important of these will now be discussed.

NA ATIBU AND NEI TEAKEA

Evidently in the account of Na Atibu and his wife Nei Teakea we have a form of the eastern Polynesian myth of Vatea, the noonday god, whose name is also variously rendered Avatea, Atea, and Wakea, according to dialect, and of whom the right eye is the Sun and the left eye the Moon. But a curious transposition has taken place in the Gilbertese tradition: Na Atibu's eyes make the luminaries, while Vatea, under the name Akea, becomes his sister-wife.

In another myth we find that the Sun and the Moon are believed by some to have been made from a sting ray's eyes, and this concatenates that fish and Vatea for us. Now the sting ray in Gilbertese story is essentially the creature of Tituabine the blonde, and she was the daughter of one Timirau and Tangaroa. Turning to Mangaian myth, we learn that Timirau was the younger brother of Vatea.

We can hardly avoid the inference that there must have existed a close relation between Gilbertese Tituabine and Polynesian Akea, Vatea, Atea, or Wakea. And as Tituabine and Timirau are the centre of the fair-haired and fair-skinned group of beings, we would attach Akea to the same company and conjecture that the ideas connected with this personality were a legacy to Gilbertese myth from the brown-skinned folk.

It is worth pointing out that our account invests the persons of Akea and Na Atibu with a particular dignity. They are not classed as Fools and Deaf-mutes; they were the only children of Water and Sand who had senses at birth. They profit by the peculiar prestige of the fair-skinned deities. But it seems probable that Akea as a god was already on the decline when the mythologies of brown and black folk blended, being overshadowed by Tituabine, the most venerated ancestral deity of the brown race, who has plainly also superseded Timirau, her so-called father, in the sovereignty of Motu-tapu 'the Sacred Isle' or, as it is called by the Gilbertese, Matang.

I think it probable that the brown-skinned invaders of the Gilbert Islands arrived with only Akea and Tituabine in the fair-skinned department of their pantheon, the former as a vague memory, the latter as their most glorious goddess. Timirau was not yet included. Percy Smith seems to show that Timirau (or Tinirau) was an historical personage, who flourished c. A.D. 450, and lived for a time on Upolu. In the view of that great Polynesian scholar, it may have been Tinirau's connection with a famous fishpond on Upolu which caused him, when later he came to be deified, to be called King-of-all-fish. But Tituabine is also called Queen-of-all-fish in the Gilbert Islands; and in view of two further coincidences—the similarity of Tinirau's Sacred Isle and Tituabine's Isle of Matang, and the reputed fairness of skin distinguishing each alike—it seems to me that Tinirau's miraculous attributes were inherited by him from no local sources in Polynesia, but from the same ancient race-memory whence Tituabine derived hers. It appears that the race memory of Matang, at least, can be traced back to Indonesia.

When the brown invaders of the Gilbert Group had amalgamated with the black autochthones, they migrated to Samoa, where they stayed for a very long time. There most probably they absorbed the Tinirau tradition, the more easily because of the similarity of its salient features with those of their Akoa (Vatoa)-Tituabine records; thus we account for the god's residence in the Isle of Matang, and his position as father or uncle, but still the subject, of the glorious Tituabine.

NA KIKA THE OCTOPUS

I cannot with certainty place Na Kika. In the Gilbert Group, he is still associated with a white shell (one of the Cypraea) used for personal adornment and for garnishing the ridge-pole of houses. This shell is said to ward off evil fortune. In Samoa, the *Fe'e* 'Octopus' was a village god of eminence, also connected with a white shell *(Cypraea ovula),* which was suspended in the house of the priest, according to Turner. If through this link we are to identify Na Kika with the *Fe'e* of Samoa, we have in him a very ancient Polynesian deity, because, rightly or wrongly, the Samoans connect the octopus god with those archaic megalithic remains on Upolu called *le fale o le fe'e* 'the house of the octopus'. But even if this is so, I am inclined to think that Na Kika is a deity borrowed from the Samoans during the sojourn of the Gilbertese ancestors on Upolu, because there appears to be no genealogical connection between him and any of the families at present in the Gilbert Islands.

TABAKEA THE TURTLE

Tabakea may almost certainly be classed as one of the chief gods of the black race. He appears in two myths as the originator of the fire-sticks; he is mentioned generally up and down the Gilbert Group as one of the Fools and Deaf-mutes; he is known as the patron of several forms of divination, formerly much used; and again, by a widespread tradition reflected in a Butaritari myth, he is reputed still to haunt the eastern shore of every island, where the souls of all dead men come to him to be directed to the land of shades. His name is attached to many island landmarks, especially to rocks and stones of more than usual size, which predisposes one to believe that his people were early settlers. In the history of the ancestor Temamanng,

we have a pertinent support to such a belief. The tale begins, "The man Naunge and the woman Riaua grew on the island of Beru; they had been there for all time, for they were not of the Samoan breed." The grandchild of these people was the ancestor Temamanng; to find a name for him his parents took him to the various gods of the sea-shore in turn, until they came to Tabakea on the northern tip of Beru.

Tabakea was clearly, therefore, a god of the earliest known inhabitants of the islands. In one fire myth, and in many another tradition, he was called the father of Nareau. I think we may be fairly certain that he was a god of the dark-skinned folk, which is all that need be shown at present.

RIKI THE EEL

The evidence that we have of Riki the Eel seems to show that he was an ancestral god of the dark race, but I would not care to dogmatize on this. There are hosts of major and minor eel gods all over the Pacific. From Turner's account of Samoa we gather that many village deities, quite unrelated to one another, were associated with this creature, whose widespread cult among the Islanders is not surprising—as a seafaring folk they could hardly fail to be impressed by the qualities of the Pacific conger.

Riki's affinities with Polynesia are rather vague, but as the lifter of heaven he seems to have some relationship with the eel god of Samoa called Fuai Langi, the Beginner of Heaven. In Ru, the sky supporter of Mangaian myth, there are also some faint reminiscences of his personality; Ru dwelt in Avaiki, the ancestral homeland, and he was the father of Maui. Riki dwelt in the First Land under the First Tree and was the ancestor of Nareau. Between the characters of Nareau and Maui, as also between some of their exploits, we shall later observe some remarkable similarities. This, then, is the first affinity between Ru and Riki. In the myth of Manihiki, Ru and Maui raised the sky by lying, kneeling, standing, and pushing with their arms in succession, and this reminds us of the Nonouti account of the lifting of heaven, in which Riki played so large a part. Maui flung Ru into the sky; Nareau did the same for Riki. It seems just possible that in the Riki-Nareau stories we have a set of traditions derived from the same source as the Ru-Maui tales.

North of the Gilbert Group, in the Marshall Islands, there is a belief that the worm Ullip enlarged the vault of heaven by pushing it with sticks; from a swelling in his brow was then born

a progeny of star-gods. The form of Ullip the Worm is analogous to that of Riki the Eel; his instrument for expanding heaven is reminiscent of the beam used by the Fools and Deaf-mutes, according to the Nonouti account; while the birth of his sons from a swelling in the brow is the same as that of Nareau from Tabakea's forehead in the fire myth and other tales. Lastly, Ullip was the father of star-gods; Riki's body became the Milky Way.

But the most considerable information about Riki comes from the Gilbert Group. His name, like that of Tabakea, is attached to many landmarks, which argues, as I believe, a very ancient associatior with the place. On Beru, Nikunau, and Aranuka are famous fish and eel ponds, of natural configuration, reputed to have been made by Riki's convulsions on falling from heaven. The island of Tarawa is said to have been cut up by him into its numerous component islets when, his work of lifting the skies completed, he wriggled back to the sea; another tradition relates how, when his task was finished, "He fell slanting, as a coconut tree" and, lying in the ocean, solidified, to become the island of Nikunau.

There is a notable reference to this ancestral being, or his clans, in the opening words of a Beru tale: "When Nareau had begotten children on the Woman of the South, he went over the ocean and lay with … the Woman of the North; and he begot children on her, a slavish breed, Taburimai and Riki, the children of the northern Woman." The tale, it must be remembered, is told by a modern Gilbertese race whose forefathers were so long on Samoa that they believed themselves autochthons of that land. It is somewhat startling, therefore, to hear from them, a Taburimai folk, that there was another Taburimai in the north, who with Riki shared the brand of slavery. In my submission this means that the Taburimai folk of the north were the ancestors of the Taburimai folk who went to Samoa; when the latter were driven out of Upolu, they returned to the Gilbert Islands, fought with their own ancestral kin, enslaved them, and thus stigmatized them in subsequent traditions with a servile name.

The coupling together of Taburimai's and Riki's names in the text is significant: each represents a people. Taburimai was of one racial type, Riki of another—in fact, of the dark-skinned folk who produced Nareau and Naubwebwe. We seem to find some confirmation of this conjecture in the cosmology introducing the Beru myth which sets Riki under the first ancestral tree on the land of Abatoa, and names him as the lineal ancestor of Nareau. Taken in conjunction with the suggestion of the Tabiteuean

version which descends Nareau from Nanokai and Nano-maka, the two great eels, it affords reasonable grounds for believing that Riki the Eel was an ancestral god of the dark-skinned race, and possibly a submerged creating spirit of the Nareau clans.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the brown people of Taburimai did not arrive from Indonesia as a pure race. From the description of their physique already commented upon, it is plain that they had a good deal of the Melanesian in them and therefore their pantheon must have contained an element of dark gods before the intrusion of the Nareau-Tabakea deities. It is possible that Riki was one of these. If he was, he must have had some affinities with the new gods with whom he came in contact—certainly a likeness of complexion, and perhaps a common origin—because in the mixture of systems now before us he seems, by his own essential characteristics, to ally himself with the dark-skins.

From the chaos of the Darkness and Cleaving Together, we have thus in a cursory fashion attempted to allocate to their respective people two groups of gods. The Akea-Tituabine-Tangaroa class belongs unquestionably to the brown Taburimai race and is essentially Polynesian in character; the Tabakea-Nareau-Riki element appears to go to the Melanesians. Of the many Fools and Deaf-mutes mentioned by name through the Gilbert Group, some are called plainly *beroro* ‘black’, while others are said to have *uraura* ‘red’ or ‘brown’. Everything in our evidence goes to show that these colours were characteristic of the races to whom they belonged. So black man and brown man did indeed meet, and fight, and ultimately mingle on the islands of the Gilbert Group.

A Genealogical Approach to Gilbertese History

It is very difficult indeed to get a reliable genealogy in the Gilbert Islands. Even the elders of the race, who now alone care to remember the family traditions for more than nine or ten generations back, admit that they themselves have forgotten much and that their grandfathers before them were often at fault. There are several good reasons for this process of decay. First, social development in the atolls appears to have stopped at the primitive patriarchal stage. If the race ever did, in the course of its Samoan sojourn, produce a priestcraft (and there seems a possibility that it did) its ultimate settlement among the rustic surroundings of the scattered Micronesian islands very quickly set back the social and religious clock. The difficulty of wringing a bare subsistence from the sandy soil, the absence of barbaric colour in flower and bird, the scarcity and crudity of building material, the want of decorative stuffs, the lack of river, rock, mountain, and valley, all had their effect on the minds and methods of the people, and in the course of centuries must certainly have narrowed their interests, provincialized their outlook, disembellished their ritual, and profoundly simplified their every religious observance. Again, the distribution of the families piecemeal over a score of incoherent atolls could not fail to disrupt any tribal cult which a priestcraft may have established, and the result was a return to the only possible system that could live for long in these rural and isolated communities: the patriarchal regime and the cult of the ancestral god. Thus tribal gods disappeared and with them went the priests. It was the decay of the sacred caste that, in all probability, first endangered the purity of the island genealogies, for throughout Polynesia the priestly college has always been the repository of family and tribal tradition. It is true that the elders of every household had the family generations also by heart, so as to keep a check upon the accuracy of the priests, but the test

was mutual and the record a double one. When the sacred caste disappeared the individual families had no referee in cases of doubt, and the genealogies soon suffered.

But the event that most profoundly affected the purity of the family records was a local war of nine generations ago, in which a host of warriors from the island of Beru, aided by numerous allies from Nikunau, swept forth to conquer the whole group from south to north. Beginning with the utter conquest of Onotoa, Tabiteuea, and Nonouti, this swarm under the victorious leadership of two heroes named Kaitu and Uakeia, proceeded to win a footing and leave powerful chiefs in residence upon every unit of the archipelago northward as far as Marakei. It is not to be supposed that a host emanating from two islands of such dimensions as Beru and Nikunau could have entirely subjugated the rest in its own generation. But the chiefs it left established in the various districts of each unit were powerful and skilful enough to consolidate their positions; and within a few generations their descendants were the principal landowners on every island of the group. On Abaiang and Abemama they succeeded in wrecking the ancient democratic scheme of the Islanders and erecting on its ruins a dynastic system of kings or high chiefs who have held power until today. And so sweeping was the final effect of the war of Kaitu and Uakeia on land ownership throughout the Gilbert Group that the native of today needs only to prove his descent from one of those victorious chiefs of Beru in order to establish his title to any given plot of land.

The traditions of every island, after the conquest from Beru, naturally underwent a gradual levelling process. On Onotoa and Tabiteuea, where defeat had been sudden and overwhelming, local myths and genealogies must have been obscured almost at once, for defeat means slavery and slaves have no family honour left them to preserve. On other islands, such as Abemama, where the dominance of the invaders took several generations to spread from a single occupied district, the decay was slower but not the less sure. In the course of time the traditions of all the invaded atolls took their colour from Beru alone, and thus we are left today with what amounts generally to the transplanted traditions of a single unit. This generalization is not absolute, of course; there were certain groups of villages up and down the islands which never actually admitted defeat by the warriors of Kaitu and Uakeia, and although intermarriage with victorious families has gradually dimmed their original records, some few fragments of these are still to be found. Nev-

ertheless, such traditions are neither typical nor authoritative in the native mind, and the genealogies of which they once formed the prelude are gone forever.

It was the overthrow of all preceding land tenures throughout the group by the war of Kaitu and Uakeia that gave impetus to the decay of Gilbertese genealogy. For the very foundation of the social scheme was land ownership, and the very *raison d'être* of the genealogy in these small and crowded islands was its proof of a clear title to possession. The last judgment on land ownership was delivered (in the mind of the modern Gilbertese) by the war of Kaitu and Uakeia, nine generations ago. Nine generations are therefore all that a man need essentially remember today of his ancestry.

With the greybeards indeed it is rather different. They still retain some sentimental regard for the lore of their grandsires, but even to them the war from Beru is so epochal an event that they use it as a dividing line between historic and legendary times. All that has happened since they call *Aomata* 'Human'; all that went before was *Anti* 'Ghostly'. Of the Ghostly period there is only one series of events in which they take any vivid interest at all, and that is the coming of their ancestors from Samoa, together with the doings of their more immediate descendants in the group. As a matter of fact, these events, as we shall see later, occupied at least ten generations, and in their history we may trace the bitter turmoil that reigned in the islands while the Samoan invaders and their children were settling down. During such a period of unrest, when every chieftain strove to keep or to expand the possessions won by his Samoan ancestor, and when the ambitious kings of Tarawa were stalking through the group with intent to subjugate every unit to their sway, great deeds of war were naturally performed and great heroes arose of whose names and exploits a later age has found it easy to remember some scraps. The old men are still able, therefore, to record a little true history of the first ten generations that succeeded the Samoan invasion, though (it must be added at once) their accounts are garbled and obscured by the wonderful, while no one chronicler has in his single possession the complete tale of generations. Nevertheless, the latter can be recovered by cross-checking accounts from island to island, for they fell within a period of which everyone remembers something.

But it was historically natural that a time of comparative quietude should supervene upon that era of initial unrest. The ambitious families were either satisfied or defeated; wars on a

large scale ceased; the population had been shuffled and sorted; it settled down to consolidate its possession; an age of agriculture followed. No great heroes arose because nothing happened to evoke a hero; nothing in fact happened to recommend this period with its generations to the memory or imagination of the modern race. It seems almost by accident that any records of it are preserved at all. Militating against the accuracy of those that have indeed survived is the native habit of handing traditions, not from father to son, but from grandfather to grandson. Among races which have priestly colleges, or possess a system of land-tenure which obliges them to keep their genealogies pure for many dozens of generations, this habit would not necessarily cause confusion. But the Gilbert Islands have neither the one nor the other. In order to prove titles to land they need to go back only nine generations with exactitude. Beyond that point it seems that their genealogies have a tendency to skip backwards from grandson to grandfather, omitting alternate generations.

Thus, in surveying the family trees back from the war of Kaitu and Uakeia through the quiet agricultural period, and indeed also through the era of unrest to the coming from Samoa, we must be prepared for a loss of anything up to fifty per cent of the names as recorded by any one authority. Very often the loss is far greater than this, as a single example will show. In the final paragraph of the tale of Naubwebwe are given one or two generations of the descendants of Beia and Tekai. [1] Their son was Teboi, whose wife Komao "bore him the girl Tabiria, the greatest of all the chieftainesses of Nonouti." Turning to a better-preserved genealogy of the same line from Nui [Ellice Islands] we find that Tabiria was not the daughter but the great-great-granddaughter of Teboi and Komao. [2] Thus three generations are found to have been cleared in one leap by the Tarawa chronicle.

But the Nui authority would not necessarily condemn the Tarawa historian for such a lapse; he would argue that the chieftainess Tabiria was correctly called *natin Teboi* 'the child of Teboi', because she was descended from him in the direct line. If pressed for his definition of a "direct line" he would then uphold (and have the backing of every competent native authority in his contention) that this not only includes steps from father to son and mother to daughter, but also from uncle to nephew, aunt to niece. In examining our genealogies we must therefore accept these titular sons and daughters, fathers and mothers with a great deal of reserve. The same applies to our in-

terpretation of the word *tibu,* which may mean equally well: ancestor or ancestress, grandparent or grandchild, adoptive child or grandchild, or merely "descendant to the *n*th degree." It has a more puzzling sense still when used to indicate the relative seniority of two collateral lines descended from a common ancestor. Supposing one of these lines to have sprung from the eldest son of such an ancestor and the other to have branched off through a younger great-grandson or great grand-nephew, any member of the former may call himself *tibu* to any member of the latter. *Tibu* may thus be translated "belonging to the parent stock" when the relation is clear; but when the word crops up without explanation as a commentary on a fragmentary list of names purporting to be some family's genealogy for six or seven centuries, its many possible meanings are confusing, not only to the foreigner, but also to the Gilbertese, who learned to use it parrot-wise in a certain place from his long-dead grandsires.

It may be laid down as an absolute rule that no one man or family of modern days is in possession of a genealogy that will lead us back without a break to the days of the Samoan invaders. A couple have been given me that bridge the gap between now and then in twelve generations—nine to the war of Kaitu and Uakeia, and three beyond! The lists of names generally number between eighteen and twenty-one; I have one that gives twenty-three generations. But fortunately, by comparing local records of the same ancestral lines from island to island we are able to build up a fuller tale, which, if not all that might be desired, is still a better account than any individual Gilbertese could give, and capable of proof so far as it goes.

The history of the race as we know it at present has been seen to fall naturally into three chief periods:

The Age of Unrest, an era of legends immediately following upon the arrival from Samoa and continuing until the invaders and their descendants had finished fighting among themselves for their footholds in the group. This was succeeded by:

The Rustic Age, of which we have hardly any records, and during which the people settled down to the humdrum of petty island life, until their peace was again destroyed by the war of Kaitu and Uakeia;

The Modern Age, called Human by the Gilbertese, which followed the conquest of the group by the swarm from Beru and lasted until the coming of the British flag in 1892. Of this era the Gilbertese records are clear.

Genealogically speaking, the first of these ages began with the names of the ancestors who arrived from Samoa and ended with the accession to power of a certain famous Beru chieftain named Tanentoa. The last, or Modern, age began with the names of the conquering chieftains of Beru, who established their families on the various islands; it ends with the present-day inhabitants of the group.

The middle, or Rustic, age must therefore be filled in with the generations still preserved for us between Tanentoa of Beru and the chieftains of Kaitu and Uakeia.

For purposes of analysis the genealogies of the islands may thus be examined in three groups of generations, classified in accordance with the historical periods above indicated. Our enquiry will begin with the modern group and work backwards to the comers from Samoa.

THE MODERN GENERATIONS

As a basis for the discussion of the modern generations we may take the names in columns 1 and 2 of Genealogy 1 (Table 7). The first list is from an account given to me on Tabiteuea by a certain Kabua; the second came from Ten Teeko of Abemama, a cousin to the present high chief, Bauro, and it was corroborated on the island by a specially convened council of family elders. Both records give an identical account, name for name, back to Tem Mwea, who established the line on Abemama. [3] This personage was one of the warriors in Kaitu and Uakeia's host from Beru.

The similarity of the records from two separate islands and the unanimity of evidence among the local authorities of Abemama itself invite our special confidence in this account of Tem Mwea's generations. So compact and clear also is the detail still remembered of his descendants in the chiefly line, including their deeds, personalities, marriages, deaths, and the circumstances under which each one succeeded to power, that no reasonable doubt can arise as to the completeness of the line as given by Abemama and Tabiteuea alike. I have three records of collaterals to the main stock exhibited. One of these shows nine adult male generations back to the common ancestor Tem Mwea; the other two show ten generations each, consisting of eight males and two females. As women married considerably younger than men the discrepancy is not only understandable but a guarantee of accuracy.

Table 7. Genealogy 1: Generations from the contemporaries of Kaitu and Uakeia

Abemaman generations [by source]		Kabua's ancestors
Kabua on Tabiteuea	Ten Teeko on Abemama	Kabua on Tabiteuea
Tem Mwea	Tem Mwea	Kauatoro I
Teannaki	Teannaki	Karibatataua
Tetabo	Tetabo	Kauatoro II
Namoriki	Namoriki	Teraeua
Teng Karotu	Teng Karotu	Tekirara I
Tem Baiteke	Tem Baiteke	Teekawa
Tem Binoka	Tem Binoka	Tekirara II
Bauro	Bauro	Kabua
Tokatake	Tokatake	Kaikai

Kabua, the Tabiteuean chronicler who furnished me with the list of Abemaman chiefs at column 1 of Table 7, also gave me his own line of descent, which appears in column 3. This shows the name of Kauatoro I at the ninth generation back, and Kauatoro I was one of the warriors of the Beruan host, who succeeded in establishing himself on the northern end of Tabiteuea. Men only appear in this list. Another male Tabiteuean line shows at the ninth generation back the name of Taoroba of Beru, another warrior of the conquering swarm, as his name and title indicate. This last genealogy actually shows only seven names from Taoroba of Beru to Te Kawakawa, my authority, but Te Kawakawa is a very old man with a great-grandson who has reached puberty, so that two generous generations may be added to the list. [4] Last of all, a Beruan line again shows nine generations back to Tenangibiri, who was a contemporary and kinswoman of the hero Kaitu himself. She certainly makes a female ninth, but it is quite possible that she bore her first child

later in life than the average Gilbertese woman. [5] It would be tedious to pile up instances. I have seen genealogies leading back to that period from Tarawa, Nonouti, Maiana, Nikunau, and Abaiang, and all of them give a like testimony. Where the lists were of males only, there were nine names; where either one or two women were named there were sometimes nine, sometimes ten generations.

I have had in my possession a list from Nui, an Ellice Island, which tells the same tale. This island was populated by fugitives from Tarawa, Nonouti, and Tabiteuea when they were overwhelmed by the Beruan warriors, and the speech used there to this day is Gilbertese. The generations of those fugitives (given to me by the old man Anetipa) are nine in total. [6]

It remains to add that in nearly every line exhibited, the last name shown is that of a man or woman of over thirty-five, who has a child already arrived at the age of puberty, and so for the purpose of reckoning time another half generation must be added to the nine which have been established. In multiplying 9½ by the number of years in a Gilbertese generation we shall therefore be able to find approximately what was the date of the war of Kaitu and Uakeia.

The age at which a male Gilbertese married and procreated lay somewhere between twenty-five and thirty years. The actual date of a young man's marriage depended upon the length of time it took him to pass through his initiation into full manhood, while the inception of that initiation depended again on the lad's physical development. A healthy, lusty boy might begin younger than a weakling, but as a rule it was not muscular development that was watched so much as the growth of axillary and pectoral hairs. When these were well in evidence and not before, the boy was considered ripe enough to be "made into a man," and this, among a people not given to great hairiness, would not normally be until he was twenty-three or twenty-four years old. Taking his age to be twenty-three at the beginning of the initiation period, we must allow a minimum of three years for the completion of the various rites he must undergo. At one stage, for example, the youth was sent to live on the eastern side of the island in a new hut, of which the pandanus thatch must begin to rot and leak ere he could leave it. This might, in a succession of dry seasons, take four or five years; in rainy periods it might not take half that time; normally it would occupy about two and a half years. Reckoning three years to cover this isolation stage together with its preliminary and subsequent rites, our youth of twenty-three emerges as a *rorobuaka* 'fully grown warrior'

at the age of twenty-six and, supposing him to marry and procreate within a year of his "coming of age," he is already twenty-seven years old by the time his first child is born.

Twenty-seven years may thus be taken as the average length of a male Gilbertese generation, and if we were dealing with exclusively male genealogies we might safely multiply the number of our generations by twenty-seven in reckoning back to any given period. But many Gilbertese names may be given equally well to men or women, and where sex is not definitely specified in the lines recorded, we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with male or female ancestors. Pains have been taken to exhibit genealogies in which men preponderate, and females have been indicated where possible, but chances of error have not been eliminated altogether. There may be other names of women among them; and women married and bore children a great deal earlier than men. We must make a general provision for this in our reckoning by somewhat reducing the length of a generation, and we shall not be very far out in taking the convenient figure of twenty-five years as a standard for future calculations. In fact, even when we are dealing with lines in which the names of women admittedly do not appear, we shall find the twenty-five standard a very good one to handle, and, as we shall not be called upon to apply it to more than thirty generations in all, our result will in the end be only sixty years out with that which we should have obtained in multiplying by twenty-seven.

At the present day, two years after writing the above [c. 1926–1928], I have read Percy Smith's *Hawaiki,* in which the author for somewhat similar reasons assumes a twenty-five-year generation for his analysis of Polynesian genealogies. I agree with Percy Smith that Fornander's thirty-year basis is ill adapted to conditions of marriage among Pacific peoples and am glad in this matter to quote his great authority on my side.

Nine and a half generations of twenty-five years take us back about 240 years; for purposes of chronology the war of Kaitu and Uakeia may therefore be dated A.D. 1680. [7] Already in two and a half centuries, tales of the marvellous begin to gather about that conflict. The form of the warrior Kaitu looms enormous in the mists of legend; he was as tall as a coconut-tree; he could trample a host underfoot; his eyelids were so huge and heavy that two warriors must sit on his shoulders to prop them open as he went forth to battle. Even his dog is glorified! Kaitu's dog was fond of fish, and for that reason alone the hero is said to have seized as his peculiar property all islets at lagoon entrances where fish abounded, and all those parts

of the mainland in many islands where fishermen might easily pursue their calling. It may be true; nothing is unreasonable in the wars of the Islanders. But such is the strange tendency of island thought that through his dog the heroic Kaitu now comes nearest to godhead. For his dog loved fish; therefore he loved fishermen; therefore the fishermen of Tarawa and the northern Gilberts to this day propitiate his spirit with offerings ere they go forth to their labour. Also deified is Kaitu's kinsman and colleague Uakeia. No such wizard was ever known in the islands; unfailingly could he predict the lucky day for a venture; he spoke with the united wisdom of all ancestral spirits; he never gave an erring counsel. So today he is the patron spirit of divination and diviners, second only to Nareau in prestige.

THE RUSTIC AGE

Thus already with the personages who ushered in the modern age we begin to walk among the mists. Yet the genealogies leading back to their time are clear enough and would remain so until the land-titles established on all islands by the warriors from Beru were swept away by another war of equal scope. Then a new era would begin. The record of Kaitu and Uakeia's generations would decay, while the lines springing from the latest conquerors would be carefully preserved.

Stepping back beyond the war of Kaitu and Uakeia we are at once in obscurity. However, we have one general direction for our guidance onward into the remoter past, and this is that all the lines take us now to the single island of Beru. This is naturally so: every genealogy on every island leads us back to one of the conquering Beru families. Certainly, there were allies from Nikunau in the victorious host, but many of them returned to their home after the war, and all of them were kinsmen to their Beruan colleagues. They were, as it would seem, junior branches of Beru families, who had not been long settled on Nikunau when the war began and still called themselves Beruans. Those of them who settled on the vanquished islands carried on the Beruan tradition; those who returned to Nikunau after the war at once set about subjugating the stay-at-homes on that island, and thus the traditions to be had there also lead us back to Beru.

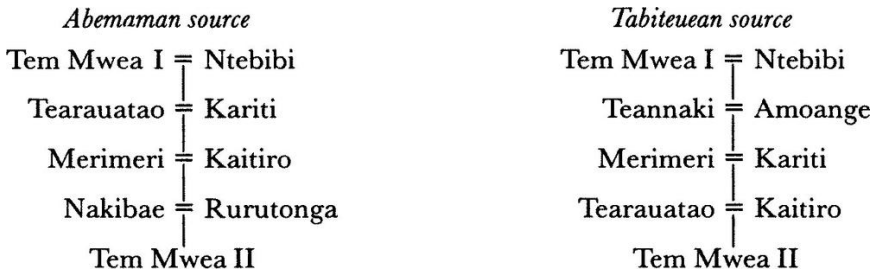
The Rustic Age lay between the times of Kaitu and Uakeia and of a certain famous chieftain on Beru, named Tanentoa. Judged by the poverty of its records, it was an absolutely

eventless period. The only happening of importance that may definitely be attributed to it is the birth of a bastard child to the daughter of Tewatu of Matang. We may place this event in the period under review because we know, by the evidence of the story, that Tewatu of Matang was a contemporary of Tanentoa the king, while the bastard child of his so-called daughter was Te Tonganga, one of the greatest warriors of Kaitu and Uakeia, who eventually became a chief on Tarawa. Here is the whole line as given by the Tarawa chronicle: [8]

TEWATU OF BEBERIKI: driven from his home by the invasion from Samoa; went to Tabiteuea and married Tebaibunanikarawa.
TAUTUA OF TABITEUEA: son of the above; quarrelled with his parents and went to Matang the wonderful, where he married Abunaba.
TEWATU OF MATANG: son of the above; invaded Beru in the time of Tanentoa, settled there, and married Tauranga.
TAKEITI OF BERU: daughter of the above; mother of a bastard who became the famous chieftain whose name follows.
TE TONGANGA: one of Kaitu and Uakeia's warriors, settled on Tarawa in A.D. 1680.

If we are to believe the testimony of the Tarawa chronicle there was only one generation, and a female one at that, between Tanentoa's time and that of the Great War. But we must first test this against the evidence of other genealogies in which the name of Tewatu of Matang appears. From Tabiteuea we have a line in which he figures as Tewatu te Baron-atu 'Tewatu of the Forelock'—a name sometimes given to him on Tarawa also. This line shows three generations between Tewatu of the Forelock and Kauatoro I, who was a collateral and contemporary of Te Tonganga; thus the Tarawan list must have dropped at least two generations belonging to the Rustic Age.

Three generations to this period is the number most usually found in the records of the chroniclers. For another example of this, we turn to a line that has already been referred to—that of the Abemaman high chiefs (see Table 7, columns 1 and 2). Between the Tem Mwea there shown, who was a warrior in Kaitu and Uakeia's invading force, and another Tem Mwea who is known to have been a contemporary of Tanentoa on Beru, there are three known generations in both the Abemaman and Tabiteuean genealogies, as shown below:



By comparing the Abemaman and Tabiteuean records, we shall be able to add to our knowledge. First of all, we observe that the names of Merimeri and Tearauatao appear in both. Their chronological order is inverted, indeed, from version to version, and the names of their wives are interchanged, but they with their womenfolk form so solid a block that we dare not make more than a couple of generations out of them. However, besides showing these two generations in common, each account has a name peculiar to itself alone: the Abemaman, that of Nakibae *after* Merimeri; the Tabiteuean, that of Teannaki *before* Merimeri. Either account has, in fact, retained a name dropped by the other. We may thus add to the Abemaman list a late generation remembered by Tabiteuea, and to the Tabiteuean an early one remembered by Abemama. The synthetic record of this line then shows four generations to cover the Rustic Age.

It has already been remarked that we must be prepared for a loss of anything up to fifty per cent of the names in any genealogy emanating from a single authority. An example was given which indicated that in certain cases the loss might be even greater than this. Our examination of specific lines so far has shown very clearly that the genealogies have suffered attrition. If the loss ever did at any time amount to fifty per cent or more of the names, it is much more likely to have occurred in this obscure and unheroic period than in any other age of the island history. Let us apply the theory, taking three generations as the average number accorded to the period between the Great War and Tanentoa. Three is fifty per cent of six; therefore according to our reckoning, six generations, and possibly more, should be attributed to the period in question. We may check the result and the theory against the Beruan line in Genealogy 2 (Table 8), which allocates the unprecedented number of eight generations to this period.

The Beruan list came into my hands during the course of a dispute (in which I was invited to be arbitrator) between two families descended from Tanentoa, about their respective seniority in public assemblies and feasts. Its generations are attested to, not only by the old man Rioiti, whose name is the last but one, but also by a council of seven other greybeards of his family. As will be seen, it gives a sequence of seventeen names from Tanentoa's time to the present day. From the other side in the dispute came a list of names covering the same period in eleven generations, of which nine could be placed in the Modern Age, leaving two for the Rustic Age. Inasmuch as these two branches of Tanentoa's line have lived for centuries in the same village on Beru, the divergence of their records, represented by the difference of six 25-year generations, is a very striking example of the incoherence of island genealogies in general.

Examining the eight generations in Genealogy 2 (Table 8) belonging to the Rustic Age, we see that they fall into two groups of four generations each, the names in the second being a repetition of those in the first, except that all the wives are different. This duplication of names might seem rather suspicious, and to the argument that the different wives sufficiently dissociate the groups it might be answered that most Gilbertese men had several wives in the old days. Are we, then, to suspect that this is a corrupt record of only four men with two wives each? I think not. First, it was, and is, by no means uncommon for successive Gilbertese generations to bear certain ancestral names in due rotation. Secondly, the two groups of persons were carefully differentiated by my council of greybeards, by attaching the title *Te Ataei* 'The Younger' to each name in the second set. Thirdly, we are face to face with genealogies whose tendency is to waste away, certainly not to increase by gathering to themselves illegitimate material. Fourthly, our reckoning on the basis of a fifty per cent loss in the average genealogy prepares us to allocate six or more generations to this period. We may, in fact, accept these eight generations as authentic. In the symmetrical repetition of the names lies the secret of their preservation; had they been all different, a good half of them would probably have been forgotten.

Table 8. Genealogy 2: The Beruan line

Tanentoa = Nei Beiarung

Ueakau

Bointeora

Raomakang

Teokua

Ueakau II

Bointeora II

Raomakang II

Teokua II

Te Nangibiri

Te Aroko

Baia

Te Maiana

Terenga

Mange

Tama

Rioiti

Tama

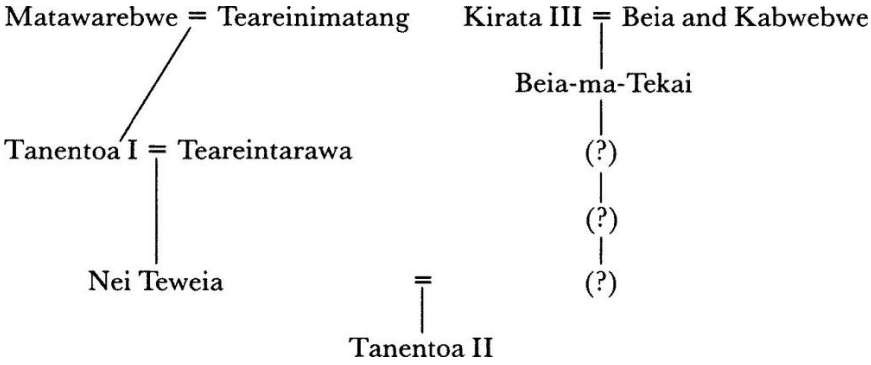
There is no evidence known to me indicating that the Rustic Age lasted for more than eight generations. It may have been longer, but I am inclined to believe that in the Beru line just examined the full tale has been told. [9] It will therefore be used for purposes of reckoning time. Eight generations are 200 years;

back to Tanentoa of Beru carries us into a ninth—225 years before the war of Kaitu and Uakeia. Thus we may date him at approximately A.D. 1450.

THE AGE OF UNREST

The generation of Tanentoa will keep us still on Beru. But when we begin to climb past him up the genealogies, we shall be carried out again into the islands, for he was descended from a line of Tarawan kings, whose wars of conquest established branches of the family on many units of the Gilbert Group. Some representatives of those branches, notably the chieftainess Tabiria of Nonouti, achieved a fame no doubt as great in its day as that of Tanentoa, but the war of Kaitu and Uakeia threw a shadow over all save Beruan reputation, and their glory is now obliterated. Tanentoa the Beruan stands forth pre-eminent among his contemporaries, and through him mainly speaks the past.

It must, however, be carefully observed that there were two distinct Tanentoas of Beru, the first of whom, the son of Matawarebwe, was an ancestor on the distaff side of the second, as shown in the genealogy below. He married a lady called Teareintarawa, and by her had a daughter named Teweia. She married the famous Tarawan, Beia-ma-Tekai, and by him became the ancestress of the second Tanentoa.



The names and deeds of the two Tanentoas have been so sadly confused throughout the group that it is hardly possible to disengage their personalities. But I think there can be no doubt that the second of the name, whom we are using for our

chronology, was the more illustrious of the two, because he was a son not only of the ruling house of Beru, but also of the kingly family of Tarawa.

In the time of this chieftain, that is, about A.D. 1450, came that remarkable invasion of Beru by a cannibal folk, of which we have an account in the tale of Tewatu of Matang. [10] That tale contains a good deal of detail about the invasion and its antecedent history. Stripped of the marvellous, it may be summarized as follows:

> When the people of the Tree were scattered from Samoa, the clans whose totem was the tropic-bird fled to the Gilbert Islands, as far north as Beberiki or, as it is now called, Butaritari. There they settled down to a career of cannibalism, having driven a great many of the indigenous people out of the island. But a few of the latter survived; led by the man Tewatu, they succeeded at last in gaining a victory over the invaders, by burning their village, as it would seem. Nevertheless, the Tropic-bird clans recovered from that defeat and established a line of warriors (Koura being the first named), who at last beat Tewatu and his folk out of Butaritari. These fled southward to Tabiteuea, where they settled for a while. But in the next generation, they were split up by a family quarrel, and some of them left the island with Tautua, son of Tewatu, in search of a new home. They came at last to Matang, of which land a description is given in the text. There, Tautua married and had a son, Tewatu of Matang; it was this personage who invaded Beru and, according to the story, practised cannibalism during Tanentoa's epoch.

The most striking part of the story is its indication of the first Tewatu's connection with the land of Matang. This place was one of the bournes of departed souls, and it was also the home of Tituabine, the great ancestral goddess of the Gilbertese. Either one of these traditions is enough to label Matang as one of the ancient fatherlands of the race. Furthermore, it is essentially a race memory belonging to the people who came from Samoa, because there was supposed to be a second or subsidiary Matang in the sea by that land, to which the departed spirit must first turn before proceeding to the first or original Matang. Now Tewatu did not come from Samoa; he was an autocthon of Butaritari who resisted the Samoan tropic-bird clans

when they arrived. Had his ancestors ever come from Samoa, they would certainly have been remembered, for however poor the family records may be in the islands the glory of being descended from Samoan stock is never forgotten.

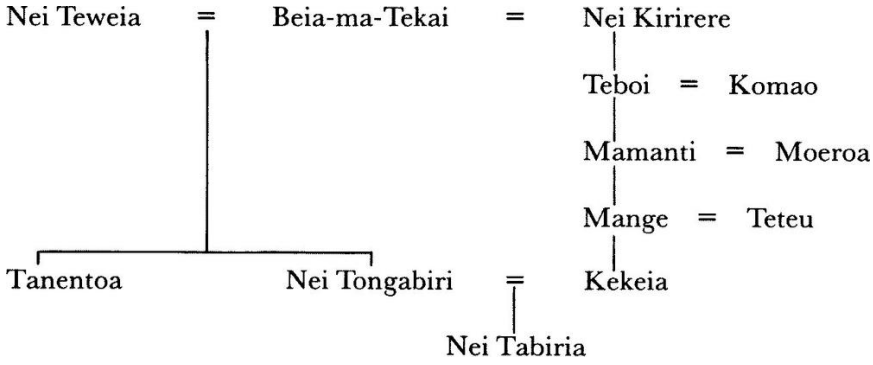
If then Tewatu's son was able to use Matang as a sanctuary in time of stress, there is only one inference to be made, which is that Matang was an ancestral land, not only of the Samoan invaders, but of the people whom they found in the Gilbert Group when they came. This suggests strongly that invaders and invaded were of the same race, and that the invasion was merely a return of part of the Samoan offshoot to its older home in Micronesia.

Returning now to the genealogy of Ten Tanentoa II we find a gap of three generations left blank between the name of Tanentoa II and that of his reputed father Beia-ma-Tekai. This void needs justification. Certainly, the Tarawan tale of Naubwebwe, [11] which represents the vast majority of group opinion concerning Beia-ma-Tekai, makes him the actual begetter of Tanentoa. Further, I know of no coherent set of traditions that shows any intermediate generations in the direct line between the two persons. Nevertheless, there is a very persistent rumour among certain families of the northern Gilberts, that there were three successive Beia-ma-Tekais, just as there were three Kiratas before them. From a much considered authority on Butaritari, named Na Kee, I had it that there were three Beias, named respectively Beia-ma-Tekai, Beia-raba-raba, and Beia.

No notable deeds are attributed to the second or third of the name; if they ever did exist, they were unremarkable personalities. Sandwiched between the glorious Tanentoa II on one side and the no less mighty Beia-ma-Tekai on the other, it is easy to see how they might have lost whatever lustre was theirs, and how their names might have been absorbed into that of their more illustrious predecessor. On the strength of mere inchoate rumour, I have not presumed to use the names of these persons to reconstruct two of those three generations left blank on the table, but I cite their reported existence to show that we cannot be too sure that Tanentoa immediately followed Beia-ma-Tekai. This prepares our mind the more readily to accept further evidence that will now be advanced, which emanates from an examination of the line of Tabiria, a celebrated chieftainess of Nonouti.

Tabiria's glory throughout the Gilbert Group is partly established on the fact that she was the daughter of Tanentoa's sister, Tongabiri. This is recorded in the Tarawan tale of Obaia the Bird-man and is supported by the unanimous consent of all competent authorities in the islands. [12] The Nui record, which I am using to show Tabiria's parentage, really represents the tradition of the whole group in respect of this line. Its showing is that on the distaff side our chieftainess was a direct descendant of Beia-ma-Tekai. This is an essential fact to have established.

Here follows, for more convenient reference, an extract from the Nui record of Tabiria's descent on both male and female sides: [13]



From this extract we see that Tabiria was descended, not only through her mother, but also through her father Kekeia, from Beia-ma-Tekai. The latter had, in fact, two wives, the one Teweia, the other Kirirere: from the first sprang the line of Tanentoa and his sister Tongabiri, from the second that of Kekeia. The story of Beia-ma-Tekai's union with both women is circumstantially given in the Tarawan tale already referred to, [14] of which the details may be corroborated on practically any island of the group; the story must be regarded as an authentic account of actual facts.

We observe from the line of Tabiria's father Kekeia that he was the great-great-grandson of Beia-ma-Tekai. Is it possible for us to believe that his wife Tongabiri was the daughter of that common ancestor? On the mere grounds of disparity in age, we must rule the idea out. Also, in the Gilbert Islands, no descendants of a common ancestor might marry out of their generation. Given the fact that Kekeia and Tongabiri did marry, we must therefore assume the same number of generations to have removed each of them from Beia-ma-Tekai. Further, the

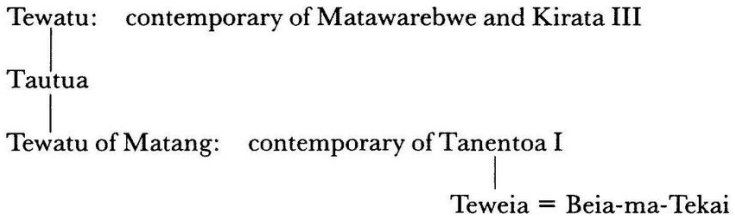
number of intermediate generations could not have been fewer than three, for not until the fourth had been born could the ban of consanguinity have been lifted, according to native custom. [15] The line of Kekeia shows the minimum number required, namely, three; it follows that no fewer than three must have been forgotten between Tongabiri, his wife, and the common ancestor. [16]

What applies to Tongabiri applies equally to her brother Tanentoa. Thus, the rumours on Tarawa and other islands that at least two more Beias should be shown between him and Beia-ma-Tekai, are probably well founded, and, whatever the missing names may have been, we are safe in reckoning the number of intermediate generations by the standard set in the line of Tongabiri's husband. We therefore put Beia-ma-Tekai in the fourth generation back from Tanentoa, and date him at A.D. 1350. [17]

Again, two blank generations should properly be left between Beia-ma-Tekai and his ancestor Kirata III, but as every chronicler of repute in the Gilbert Group would have a bone to pick with me on this point, justification of no uncertain kind must be sought.

First, we must turn to the line of Teweia, the first of Beia-ma-Tekai's wives. Her so-called grandfather was Matawarebwe who, as will be shown more clearly later, was a contemporary of Kirata III. If she herself is to be placed by Beia-ma-Tekai, as she must, we have to leave an intermediate space between the two chieftains to correspond with the generation of Tanentoa I, her father. Thus, one of the blanks is accounted for.

Now we know that Tanentoa I was a contemporary of Tewatu of Matang. Further, as will be proved in a short time, Tewatu's grandfather Tewatu was a contemporary of Kirata III. Therefore between the generation of Tanentoa and that of Kirata III, we should leave another blank to correspond with that of Tewatu of Matang's father Tautua. Collating these lines in tabular form we have the following results:



Thus both the spaces left blank between Beia-ma-Tekai and Kirata III can be justified. We therefore date Kirata III at A.D. 1275. But, while we have reasonable grounds for believing that he lived not later than that, we cannot with certainty claim that his period was not somewhat earlier: another intervening generation may easily have evaded our reckoning.

Our study of the Gilbert Group genealogies, as such, must now come to an end. They have brought us to the threshold of the era that saw the invasions from Samoa. We shall be able to trace them back through a few more generations of Tarawa chiefs, and shall continue to use them for chronological purposes, but our attention will henceforward be principally directed towards the Samoans, to whose respective arrivals they enable us to affix dates.

THE COMING FROM SAMOA

Placing Tanentoa I in the generation before Beia-ma-Tekai, we assume his date to have been A.D. 1325. It was a very important epoch in the history of Beru, for if, as it seems we have a right to believe, the chief Kirata n Tarawa, whom we are calling more shortly Kirata III, flourished about A.D. 1250–1275, he lived at a period of intense activity in the Pacific. The forefathers of the Maori-Rarotonga branch of the Polynesian race, the so-called Tonga-fiti, who had already for centuries been troubling the peace of the islands, had been driven by the first Malietoa from Samoa in about 1250, [18] and were now thrusting forth branches into numerous other groups. They colonized Tahiti and the Marquesas before 1300; they settled on Rarotonga a little later; and by 1350 they had sent forth a swarm to New Zealand. It is significant that the flooding of the Gilbert Group by swarms of warriors from Samoa took place, according to our genealogies, within a very short time of the expulsion of the Tonga-fiti from the coasts of Savai‘i and Upolu.

In the tales of Nimanoa, we have a very fair account of the arrival of one of the Samoan family groups. These Nimanoa traditions are of very great importance, for the genealogies connected with them on Beru and Nui contain the names of two ancestors, Kanii and Taito-kara-nanaro, both of Samoa, and these can hardly be other than the Karii and Taito-rangi-ngunguru who appear in Percy Smith’s Rarotongan genealogies, forty-

eight and fifty generations back respectively. But, for the moment, only the coming of Nimanoa to the Gilbert Islands will be dealt with. [19]

The Tarawan version places the arrival in the time of Beiama-Tekai, but it stands alone in doing so; all other versions known to me, of which the Beru and Nui tales quoted are examples, are united in dating Nimanoa's coming in the time of Kirata III, and as that chief can be shown to have married into one of the families that accompanied her, she would not have arrived later than his period.

A true *karaki* 'story' has been made of the matter by the Tarawan chroniclers, whose version is by far the most lively, and is, by the way, the only one to give the name of Nimanoa's canoe, *Te Akabutoatoa.* [20] Nevertheless, two other versions give, in their more matter-of-fact manner, a clearer idea of the effect of the invasion of the Gilbert Group.

The Nui tale shows how part of Nimanoa's company, while still en route from Samoa to Tarawa, separated itself at Tabiteuea and there, under the leadership of Einibatangitang and Atuararango, founded a family that afterwards spread to Nonouti. Nimanoa sailed on with the rest of her people to Tarawa, broke away there from the fleet, settled, and married Kirata's slave Naubwebwe, by whom she had children—a breed of giants, who grew too powerful for the chief's liking and were driven out by him. This story deals, in the true Gilbertese manner, with whole branches of a family under the name of a single person. It is possible, of course, that a woman named Nimanoa married a man named Naubwebwe on Tarawa, but it is infinitely more probable that Nimanoa was the name of a certain family branch, one or several of whose members allied themselves with a family called Naubwebwe and thereby founded a faction that grew over-strong for Kirata's peace of mind.

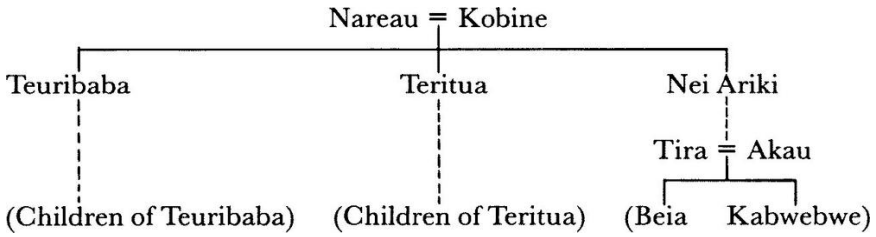
The Nui tale does not mention the fate of the people who accompanied Nimanoa as far as Tarawa and left her there, for the chronicler admits explicitly, "We know not what became of them." But the historians of the southern Gilberts know: the strangers sailed, as the Beruan account tells, to the islands of Beru, Nikunau, and Nonouti, "begetting children in all those places." The story goes on to say that "the children are there still; their place in the meeting-house is called Karongoa, the place of kings," and this I have found to be correct by reference to separate authorities on all the three islands mentioned.

Thus, by synthesizing the details of the three accounts, we see that five islands—Tabiteuea, Tarawa, Beru, Nonouti, and Nikunau—felt the effects of the Nimanoa influx from Samoa, which must therefore have been of considerable dimension. To have installed on islands communities that, to this day, have been able to hold the lands they settled, was not the feat of a migratory band weak in numbers. The numerical strength of the invaders is indicated, indeed, in the events that took place on Tarawa alone; for there, the slave people Naubwebwe, hitherto crushed under the heel of Kirata, found in the Nimanoa alliance so great an addition to their power that they were able to make things unpleasant for the chief himself.

Fortunately we have in the Beruan story a good deal of additional light thrown on the arrivals from Samoa at this period. There we learn how the descendants of Nareau and the woman Kobine came, in three distinct but contemporary family groups, to various Gilbert islands. We are told in the story how the women Beia and Kabwebwe came from Samoa to Tarawa in the canoe called *Ata-ata-moa* and married the third Kirata. This conveniently dates the arrival for us. We may safely assume that their company was of considerable size because, before arriving at Tarawa, they "planted their tree, the *kanawa,* on the island of Arorae," which is to say, they founded a settlement there whose totem was the *kanawa* tree. [21] No small errant band this, that could afford to detach from itself a company large enough to settle on a strange island, whether inhabited or barren.

With the Beia-Kabwebwe group, as the text relates, sailed its kinsmen, the "Children of Teuribaba" and the "Children of Teritua." The former were on the canoe *Itimarube,* and landed contingents at Tarawa, Tabiteuea, and Beru. The latter were aboard the *Ataata,* their destinations are not specified, and I did not have the time to locate them by independant enquiry, but undoubtedly they came to one or more of the Gilbert Islands.

The genealogical detail given by the story is set out below, and from this we get an idea of the relationship of the three groups to each other:



Not for a moment is the above to be read as a "human" genealogy; in the Gilbertese sense it only approaches humanity in the generation of Beia and Kabwebwe. These are probably the names of two women who actually did become the wives of Kirata III, and hence they have been remembered, but they also stand for a family group, which came to Tarawa at that time. The earlier names are those of ancestors deified before the people left Samoa, who lived we cannot tell when. Thus, we cannot regard the three groups as literally related to each other in the second degree of cousinship, but we certainly may use the record as proof that there was an ancestral link between them, and this is again definitely indicated by the fact that each of them carried on its canoes a variant of the family crest which is generically known as *Te Bou ni Karon goa* 'The Tuft of Karongoa'. [22]

The "Children of Teuribaba" are not mentioned by name in the text under reference, because the main theme is not concerned with them, but there seems to be little doubt that they and the Nimanoa folk mentioned above were one and the same party: firstly because Nimanoa is definitely called, in the Tarawan chronicle, "a daughter of Teuribaba" and her descendants to this day have the same canoe-crest as the "Children of Teuribaba"; and secondly because, according to our accounts, this "Daughter" and these "Children" of the same ancestor came to the Gilbert Group in the reign of the same chieftain, Kirata III, and are recorded to have left settlements on the same islands, Tarawa, Beru, and Tabiteuea. It is true that the names of their canoes are different— one the *Akabutoatoa,* the other the *Itimarube*—but this only indicates that the invasion was large enough to require more than one, possibly many, craft for the transport of the folk.

If Nimanoa was identical with the "Children of Teuribaba," she must, of course, have been related to the Beia-Kabwebwe group, and searching for some external proof of this we find that her descendants in the Gilbert Islands have as their totem the

kanawa tree, which, as we have just seen, was also the totem of the folk who broke away from the Beia-Kabwebwe group at Arorae, and which is still cherished by descendants of Kirata III and his two wives throughout the group. [23]

The *kanawa* totem appears again in the invasion traditions connected with the ancestor Te I-Mone, which now come under discussion. The Tarawan tale tells us that this personage, or rather, family group, came to Beru, but so sadly confuses the persons of the invaders with the ancestral being of whom they were the eponyms, that none of its other details are to the point. But we can fix the date of Te I-Mone's arrival in the Gilbert Islands from a Beruan record:

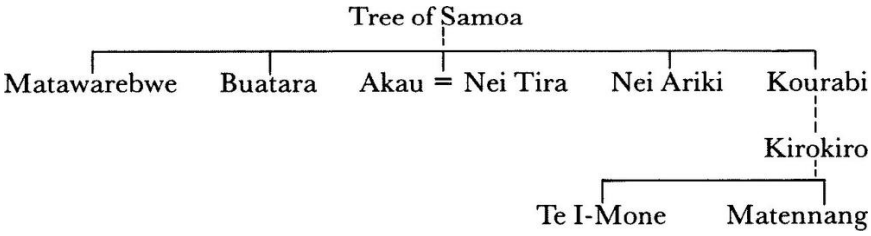
> Te I-Mone was the child of the Samoan Kiro-kiro. When the Tree was broken, he came with his sister Matannang to Beru, and there he stayed. But Matennang went on to Tarawa, where she lay with Kirata, the son of Kirata te Reirei; she bore a child named Bakoa, and sent him back to Te I-Mone at Beru. There he lived, and was the ancestor of Tem Mwea and the chiefs of Abemama. With Te I-Mone came from Samoa Tematawarebwe, and Kourabi, and Buatara. They landed at the southern end of Beru and stayed there a while to rest, for they were weary with their voyage. But after a little, Tematawarebwe went to the northern end of the island, where he planted his ancestors, the two *kanawa* trees, and lived by them. [24]

The union of Te I-Mone's "sister" Matennang with Kirata, the "son of Kirata te Reirei," whom we know to have been Kirata III, clearly dates this invasion.

I was tempted to believe, at one time, that this name Matennang was merely a family name of the other two wives of Kirata III, Beia and Kabwebwe, but I have since found out that it could not have been so, because Matennang's totem was an *uri* tree, not a *kanawa,* while the canoe on which she reached Tarawa was the *Atanimone,* and not the *Ataatamoa.* [25]

But, as we have seen in the short tradition just exhibited, the *kanawa* certainly was the totem of Tematawarebwe and his people, who came to the Gilbert Islands at the same time as Te I-Mone, and this fact alone is enough to establish a family connection between the Matawarebwe group and the Nimanoa-

Beia-Kabwebwe folk. The Beruan tale called "The Breed of Tamoa" throws a good deal of light upon the subject, [26] by giving a sketch-genealogy, which may be tabulated thus:



It certainly is only a sketch, but it is enough for our purpose, for firstly it establishes an ancestral tie between all the persons concerned, and secondly it gives the names of Nei Ariki, Akau, and Tira, who have already been before us as the ancestors of Beia and Kabwebwe. Thus it forms a connecting link between all the invasions we have hitherto discussed, showing them to have been but component parts of a great, composite, and concerted movement, made by an aggregate of family groups all more or less closely related to one another.

Again, this Beruan text enlarges our view of the invasion by showing how, when the Tematawarebwe and Te I-Mone folk sailed for Beru, the birds *te Take* and *te Ngutu* left Samoa with them and fell upon the island of Makin (another name for Butaritari). As we have already seen, when discussing the tale of Tewatu of Matang, these two creatures, the red-tailed tropic-bird and the yellow-billed tropic-bird, were the totems of those invading folk who committed acts of cannibalism on Butaritari, and succeeded after much strife in beating the autochthon Tewatu off the island. Their object in singling out Butaritari as their destination is, I think, clearly to be inferred from the fact that Tewatu's folk were also cannibals, the suggestion being that both invaders and invaded, having the man-eating habit in common, were connected by family ties, and that the tropic-bird folk expected to find harbourage with its ancestral kin when it fled from Samoa to the northern Gilberts. Underlying this is the further suggestion, often to be met under different guises in the course of our subject, that this invasion of the Gilberts was but a return of certain families from a long sojourn in Samoa to an older home of their race.

What was the link between these tropic-bird people and the other family groups of which there has been talk? Genealogically, no relationship can be traced, save that we know that all

of them are said to have sprung from the Tree of Samoa. But the cannibalism of *te Take* and *te Ngutu,* on which the traditions lay such emphasis, definitely connects them with their fellow invaders, as will now appear.

It will be remembered that each of the Beia-Kabwebwe and allied groups carried on its canoe a crest bearing a specific name, and that these crests are generically called the Tufts of Karongoa. Here follows a translation of the tradition connected with the Tufts, which will show how they enter into the discussion: [27]

> The Tufts of Karongoa are memorials of Teuribaba, the king of the Tree of Samoa. Human heads were his favourite food, and he was forever eating the heads of the people of Samoa. Therefore, when he left Samoa on his canoe *Ata-atai-moa,* he wore on the peak of his sail a crest that was the likeness of a man's head, in memory of his favourite food. It was called *Te Bou-teuana* 'The Single-Tuft', but there is another called *Te Bou-uoua* 'The Double-Tuft', and another still, called *Tim-tim-te-rara* (lit. "Drip-drip-the-blood"). All these are used by the families of Karongoa, because they are the children of Teuribaba.

In this deliberate insistence of the people of Karongoa upon the man-eating habit of their ancestor lies the link that connects them with the tropic-bird families.

But a very important distinction must be drawn between the cannibal habits of the two sets of family groups. Whereas the tropic-bird folk, either in the fury of conquest or in the desire for this special kind of food, appear to have devoured the flesh of their victims on Butaritari, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the people of Karongoa, who were much more numerous, indulged such an appetite on any one of the islands they invaded. All we learn from the crest tradition is that the god of Karongoa was anthropophagous, and while this connotes the idea of cannibalism among his people, it indicates that the habit was not promiscuous but sacrificial in character.

The impression of human sacrifice is emphasized for us in the Beruan tale wherein we read that the food of the king of the Tree of Samoa whom we know to have been Teuribaba, was the first-born infants of Nikumaroro. This choice of victims from a class so confined and so set apart by peculiar tradition as the first-born, gives excellent grounds alone for assuming its reli-

gious intent and, in conjunction with the evidence of the crest tradition, leaves us with very little doubt that Teuribaba was a god, or the priest of a god, to whom human sacrifices were habitually made.

The human heads that are said to have been the favourite food of the deity were probably the heads of victims, hoisted upon stakes that stood around his *marae.* Certainly, the Bouteuana canoe crest, with its pole surmounted by a single tuft of leaf, is an excellent replica of such trophies, while the name of that other crest, *Tim-tim-te-rara* 'Drip-drip-the-blood' suggests too well the grisly sight of the freshly elevated spoils. [28]

The picture thus evoked reminds us at once, and forcibly, of the cult of the god Rongo, to whom human sacrifice was made in nearly every group of Polynesia, and I think we can hardly avoid the inference, when all facts are taken into account, that the being called Teuribaba was indeed Rongo, or else a priest of that deity. The appellation Teuribaba is but a title, and suggests nothing to the purpose, but in the family name Karongoa we seem to have Rongo clearly written. For further clues we must consider the duties and prerogatives of Karongoa in the Gilbertese maneaba, or house of assembly.

The maneaba, though locally regarded for the past two or three centuries much more as a council hall and public meeting house than as a place of worship, was primarily a temple, and until quite recent times was held in particular veneration by the Gilbertese. It might be erected only by those who had the hereditary right of attending to one or other of its component parts, and the work of construction was initiated with the most careful ritual. A man might enter it only at a certain point, and with bent back. When the clans were convened therein, they were called together by the blowing of the sacred conch of Te I-Mone and, on arrival, might pass into the building only in a particular order of precedence. They sat in allotted places; in the rafter over each family sitting-place *(boti* or *botu)* hovered the ancestral god, ready to visit with death or disease the intruder who trespassed where he had no right, or usurped a prerogative that did not belong to his family, or otherwise behaved with wilful indecorum. And at every time of public assembly in the maneaba, each stage in the preceedings—whether of dance, feast, or council —was marked by a prescribed and unalterable ceremonial.

Master-builders of this edifice, arbiters of the ceremonial, ultimate referees in all cases of dispute, sat the elders of Karongoa, under the northern gable. Theirs was the sitting-

room of life and death *(boti n te maiu ma te mate),* for, in the belief of the Samoa-Gilbertese forefathers, the north was the bourne whence the souls of the new-born came, and whither the dead departed. Karongoa was king of the maneaba. The temporal king, whose status was a mere accident of successful war, must bow to the decisions of its elders. Its chief claimed for his folk the first portion of the feast; its spokesman uttered the first and the final word in debate. Above all, upon the Yea or Nay of Karongoa depended the declaration of war, and upon an orator of the clan invariably fell the duty of pronouncing laudatory addresses on warriors and their deeds.

Here then we have a building, piously erected, wherein a man might not carelessly enter at any time; whither, for matters of weight, the people were summoned by the blast of a sacred instrument; where every assembly was governed by the most meticulous ceremonial rules; where the people did not indeed worship any longer, but wherein the ancestral gods certainly lived—in fact, a building that was undoubtedly by origin a temple. In this converted temple, a clearly defined clan (or caste) presides, master of the ceremonies, with prerogatives overbearing the rights of temporal kings; who can these folk be but the descendants of a priestly craft, whose privileges were inviolable within the sacred precincts?

Assuming, therefore, that we have identified a temple and a priestcraft, what was the cult? The supreme authority of the people in the matter of declaring war, and their privileged duty of extolling heroic deeds, seem in themselves to answer the question, for War and Fame were the peculiar associations of the Polynesian Rongo. Add to this the facts already brought to light—that the people were addicted to human sacrifice and bore the significant clan name of Karongoa—and, as I believe, very little doubt will remain that the god of Karongoa, Teuribaba, was that Rongo whose cult scattered blood on the *marae* of so many Pacific islands.

The cult of Rongo was a tribal cult, and I apprehend that the families who accompanied the Karongoa clans to the Gilbert Group were component members of a single Rongo-worshipping tribe. Each of them remembered its own domestic gods, to be sure, and hence every rafter of the maneaba to this day contains an ancestral shade, installed by the newcomers. But that all the diverse island communities accorded a very particular reverence to the god of Karongoa is an inference that cannot possibly be avoided, and it is precisely the elevation of a single

common deity over the heads of a multiplicity of private or domestic gods that welds an inchoate system of patriarchal communities into a systematic tribal group.

Residence in the Gilbert Islands soon modified the religious organization. Scattered over a dozen incohesive atolls, intermarried with older residents whose economy was patriarchal, and thoroughly disintegrated by the new circumstances under which they were obliged to live, there was little chance for them to keep alive anything like a tribal cult. The result was a return by each family to the worship of the ancestral being from whom it was descended. Karongoa still kept its privileges in the maneaba, because they had been established when Rongo was paramount with the invaders, because in that edifice the convened clans still had a chance to remember their ancient co-ordination, and because the people of Karongoa still lived on to demand, at least in form, its old prerogatives. But as the descendants of the Samoans lost the meaning of the tribal cult, so the god of Karongoa dwindled in importance, until at last he faded from the scheme, to become the mere ancestral deity of his own clan. All that we are now left with, therefore, is a framework of ceremonial in feast and council which, while still presided over by a particular group of people and still eloquent to us of its religious origins, is far removed from the Rongo-worship upon which it was founded. [29]

To show at a glance the scope of the invasion of the Gilbert Group by this Rongo tribe, the particulars and names given in the stories hitherto analysed have been tabulated in Table 9.

One need have little hesitation in accepting this evidence, as the authorities quoted show a unanimity which, considering the time elapsed since the invasion, is remarkable. According to the details before us, seven islands were certainly affected by the coming of the Samoans—Beru, Tarawa, Tabiteuea, Butaritari, Nonouti, Nikunau, and Arorae. It must have been a considerable swarm that arrived. The first four of the islands named seem to have been more or less flooded; of the last three, less is said in the traditional texts. A family-to-family quest would probably elicit further information, and by exhaustive enquiry it could, no doubt, be proved that the whole group felt the influx from Samoa. Indeed, I have in my possession the accounts of one or two other arrivals at this period, which show that Abemama and Marakei were affected, but beyond this they do not materially add to our knowledge, and no object would be served by the exhibition of long and unessential stories. All that we need to

know seems to emanate clearly from the texts examined: the invaders came about A.D. 1250–1275; they were of Samoa; they were numerous; they were a tribe; their cult was Rongo.

Table 9. The Samoan invaders

NAME OF FAMILY GROUP	ISLAND INVADED
Nimanoa	Tarawa
Nimanoa relatives	Beru, Nikunau, Nonouti
Einibatangitang and Atuararango	Tabiteuea
Beia and Kabwebwe	Arorae, Tarawa
Children of Teuribaba (same as Nimanoa)	Tarawa, Tabiteuea, Beru
Children of Teritua	Not located
Te I-Mone, Akau and Tira	Tabiteuea
Te I-Mone	Beru
Matennang	Tarawa
Tematawarebwe, Kourabi, Buatara	Beru
Moa-aine	Beru
Tropic-bird clan	Butaritari

Several of the islands to which they came were inhabited, as we have seen: Beia and Kabwebwe married the third of a line of kings established on Tarawa; the tropic-bird clan had to fight for a footing on Butaritari. Here to conclude this study is a song of Nonouti which, in showing how the newcomers were received on that island, clearly gives us to understand that it was a populous place.

E maotoua te Bakatibu, te Kai!
E raranakoa abaia I-Matangi mai Tamoa;
E na kateke unana ian te tawanou: e bono taina.
…
Te Kabaraki, [30] te aine, e nako maiaon Angitano inano.
E maena win te kua, Teurukamere;
E na bakaria tava inanon namaotin Nei Tewenei! [31]
N na korokoria, N na taenakoia, N na bakarereia ni kaiu te tara ni
Matang; e butaki maiaon te wa!
…
Te wa maia wam?
E tikuroba ian te maneaba i Taribo; a taua tabona I-Umantewenei; a kaeakia I-Temotu ma I-Rurutei;
A katangi-rongorongo: Akea! Be a bua te bai; e a mate te aomata iani karawa!
Be Tiringaki Weneina, be boaki takanoina.
Ma a baka ni mate iaontano-o o-o; Inano-o-o-a -a-e-e-a tie!

The Ancestor, the Tree is broken!
It is fallen across the land of the people of Matang by Samoa;
I shall wear its flowers as ornaments in the noonday: its hour is struck.
…
The (people of) Kabaraki, the ancestress, come from Angitano in the depths.
She wears a necklet of porpoise teeth, Teurukamere;
I shall fall upon her, seize it in the secret sea-places of Nei Tewenei!
I shall cut (her people) in pieces, I shall put them to rout, I shall
pierce them with my barbed spear of Matang; it is lifted from its place on my canoe!
…
Whence cometh thy canoe?
Its sail is furled in the lee of the maneaba at Taribo; the people of Umantewenei hold its stem; the people of Temotu and Rurutei give it welcome;
They cry aloud the news: Alas! A great defeat; far away the warriors lie slain!
The pursuit is hot on the wake of the flyer, it is hard on their track.
They fall dead on the ground; Low lie they!

A History of Abemama

Airam Teeko
Translated by Reid Cowell

The traditional stories of our ancestors assert that all the Gilbert Islands have been inhabited for a long time. But it is not at all clear from the stories whence the people came.

OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR

So many people lived on the island of Beru that every bit of land was used. Among them were a number of strong and vigorous men who took the decision to wage a great war throughout Kiribati. One of these men was exceptionally powerful—Kaitu who lived at Maetoa—and the people put their trust in him for the conduct of the campaign. Another of the men was Uakeia, the caster of lots, who was chosen to predict the fortunes of war. Even today, the campaign is known in Kiribati as the War of Kaitu and Uakeia.

The force set sail for Onotoa where no opposition was met; so they simply annexed and portioned out land. They travelled on to Tabiteuea where, in a fierce battle, they defeated the Tabiteueans, some of whom escaped by canoe. (One story claims that they discovered the Ellice Islands). After the battle, land was seized and portioned out. Stones on the sea-bed near the land known as Teabuaeroa south of the village of Kabuna mark the site of the battle.

The pattern of the war on Tabiteuea was repeated on Nonouti and then on Abemama, Maiana, and Tarawa—each time with the same result. Coral-stone cairns were erected on Tarawa to commemorate the war. The voyage was continued to Abaiang and, after it was conquered, east to Marakei and another victory.

While Kaitu and Uakeia and their warriors were on Marakei, they were surprised to receive a visit from an emissary from Butaritari, Mangkia, who came in his canoe *Takaburoro.* He sought peace and his request that the campaign should not be extended to Butaritari was granted.

DEMOBILIZATION AND THE RETURN FROM WAR

When the warriors were free to return home from the war, some of them and their families settled on all of these islands. This is why tradition records that the Beruans were the forefathers of the Gilbertese. The lands which the diviner Uakeia acquired were Noumatang on Nonouti, Bike on Abemama, Betio on Tarawa, and Nuotaea on Abaiang. They were all fishing grounds. [1]

ABOUT THE ABEMAMAN PEOPLE

Descendants of those returning from the war who settled on Abemama had neither chief nor king; their way of life was marked by family feuds, rivalry, the pursuit of glory and power, and pillage. They gave allegiance only to their ancient gods and magic, in which they followed the customs of their Beruan ancestors.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF ABEMAMA

One of the men who had come from Beru was Tem Mwea and he was the ancestor of the Abemaman kings:

> Tem Mwea was the father of Ten Teannaki and other children; Ten Teannaki was the father of Ten Tetabo and others.

It was Ten Tetabo who became a power in the land and advanced the fortunes of the Tuangaona family. The people were resentful and would have liked to kill him but they were too weak and feeble to do so.

The high chief's village at Binoinano, Abemama, 1897. (Kramer 1906, 289)

> Ten Namoriki was the son of Ten Tetabo who had other children also.
> Teng Karotu was the son of Ten Namoriki and there were other children.

It was Teng Karotu who first established a government on Abemama, and the whole population recognized his pre-eminence in the land. He shrewdly set about accumulating property and his enterprise bore good fruit. While his son, Tem Baiteke, was still a boy, he was crowned king of the three islands of Abemama, Kuria, and Aranuka. And the kingdom continued in existence throughout the days of Tem Binoka and Tem Bauro. [2]

THE ROYAL FAMILY

The eldest son was head of the royal family and was recognized as king. He was held in honour and respect by the people. This respect was extended to members of his family, including his cousins and their families.

THE NOBILITY

The families of nobles or chiefs were next in rank to royalty. They helped to maintain the king's peace. Some of their heads would assist the royal family in administering the law, controlling civil disturbance, feuds, fraud, and the like; and generally in dispensing justice.

THE COMMONERS

This group of people were next below the nobles in the social order. They owed respect to the nobles, lived a frugal but comfortable and generally contented life, and were subject to punishment only if they offended the nobles or royal family. But this kind of problem rarely arose for, in times gone by, everyone feared the law of the land knowing they could be put to death if they were to commit an offence.

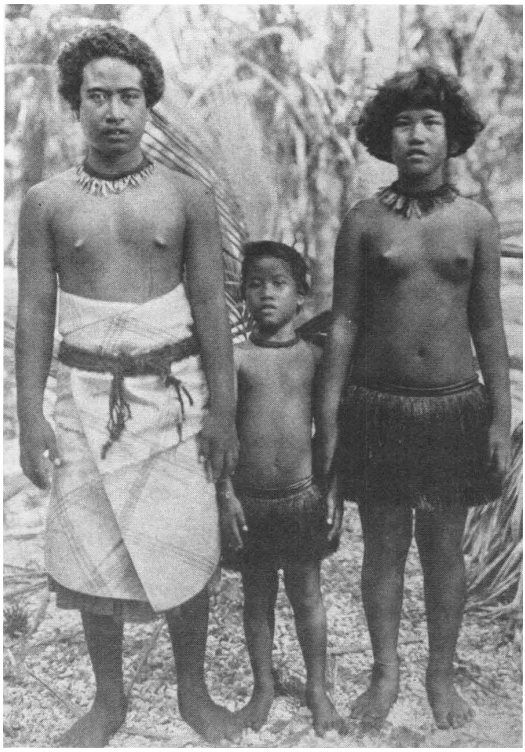
THE SERFS

These were the landless people who lived on the land of their masters. Most of them served the king and his family, but some worked for nobles. They lived peacefully and were generously cared for by their masters. If any one of them were to give offence, he could be put to death. They were not allowed to take part in government or administration. Their way of life was prescribed by their masters, for whom they were providers of food.

MARRIAGE ON ABEMAMA

The kings normally took wives from among the noble families. It could create problems for a king and the royal line if any of them were to wed a commoner and it was rarely done because the consequences might be unhappiness and ill fortune. None of them would marry a landless serf on pain of death, although nowadays some elderly people do so.

The kings used to take as many wives as they liked, as would members of the royal family on a smaller scale. The common people and serfs were not allowed to do so.



Tem Bauro, the last independent high chief of Abemama, and his sisters, 1897. (Kramer 1906, 305)

When a marriage was about to be celebrated, the families of the betrothed would announce the wedding feast by loudly sounding a conch-horn. The relatives of the bride provided a sleeping mat, and those of the groom a grass skirt and coconut oil. When the sun was setting, an old woman would perform magical rites for the couple.

Divorce was allowed if serious trouble developed between man and wife, but any man who deserted a wife just before her child was delivered was put under a spell. This spell, to bring back the unfaithful man, was called *te ana ni bung.* [3]

It could be a grave matter if members of the royal or noble families were divorced. The relatives of the woman would resent it and warfare could break out. The war on Maiana in support of a woman delivered of a child is well known.

GOVERNMENT BY THE KING'S DEPUTIES

It was not possible for the king alone to govern the land and its people. Elders [*Unimane*] were therefore appointed from among the noble families who were able to take up matters of common and royal interest within their villages. It was these elders, in council, who considered questions brought before meetings in the public halls of assembly [maneaba]. The whole population would look to the elders to give guidance in all matters, for they were well versed in the law of the land and, because of the depth of their experience, were able to make fair decisions.

The king and his family did not participate much in government and usually the decisions of the deputies were confirmed. Great pains were taken not to arrive at a hasty decision, for it might stir passions or cause resentment and thereby bring government into disrepute. Anyone who came to a quick and arbitrary decision was marked as being inept in the ways of government. All rulings were reported to the king, who could interfere only on grounds of equity. Even so, he could not overrule a judgment but only seek to conciliate in a friendly and helpful manner. Anyone who was justly convicted would be reprimanded or fined. For a serious offence, the death penalty could be imposed.

There were limits on the authority of the elders—over homicide, armed conflict, and similar serious offences, judgment on which was reserved for the king himself. Homicide was proscribed on Abemama, and an offender could be put to death. It was therefore embarrassing if members of the royal family were involved in homicide, because only the king had the power to judge them. This law was introduced during the reign of Tem Baiteke.

THE ANCIENT LAW OF HOMICIDE

Before the king's rule was established, the family of a man killed by another would claim land and goods in compensation. The settlement was a piece of land and a large canoe or, if there were no canoe to surrender, another piece of land. These acquisitions were called "the coffin and the grave." [4]

ABOUT SERFS

Serfs were low in status, but they were well looked after by their masters and the law of the land. They could be put to death by their noble masters for a serious offence. The law of the land did not apply to a noble who beat or killed a serf. This practice was altered when Tem Baiteke was king. He would dismiss from his favour anyone who killed a serf; he forbade the spilling of blood throughout the land. It was the task of serfs to provide food and labour for their masters. Like pieces of land, they could be shared out by a father dividing possessions among his children.

SPIRITS *(ANTI)* AND SPELLS *(TABUNEA)*

The people used to have an unshakeable faith in spells and spirits which alone, they believed, were able to help them in times of disputation, conflict, or any kind of hardship. Each family had its god *(atua)* and was in close communication with its spirit. The spirits were all equal; they made no distinction between king and serf, held no rank, nor gave favours; they acted freely and as they pleased. Neither chief nor king could invoke rank in the spirit world to help his cause or magic spells.

Many spirit-gods were revered on Abemama, but to the best of our knowledge the following list is complete:

Male	**Female**
Tabuariki	Nei Tituabine
Auriaria	Nei Tewenei
Taburimai	Nei Rui
Teweia	Nei Tenaotarai
Riki	Nei Tereitaburi
Kaobunang	Nei Karua
Kaoioti	
Te Rakunene	

Tabuariki was the most renowned of the male spirits. He was the controller of lightning and thunder, rain, and the winds. Nei Tituabine was the most revered of the female spirits.

FISH TABOOS

Every family acknowledged a spirit deity and was constrained from eating the fish which represented the material body of the spirit. The following list is known to us:

Ray	Nei Tituabine
Kingfish	Nei Tewenei
Trigger-fish	Nei Rui
Crab	Nei Tereitaburi

THE SUN

The only story about the Sun among the old people is that long ago it was a woman, Queen Nei Tai. The old people said that formerly the Sun Queen in the heavens was sacred, could cause sudden death, and was able to cast stronger spells than other famous spirits. It is said that the Sun is burning.

THE MOON

The ancient ones used to say that the moon was cold and dark inside, and that Nei Nibarara and Nei Matanoko were busily weaving mats in there! Old women and old men used to cast spells when the moon was new and perform a dance before it, asking that their generation might be blessed and not grow old too quickly, and that they might be spared sickness. This is not done nowadays.

When the sun and moon set in the sky, it was said that they went to Maerua to die and then to rise again.

ABOUT FOOD

In former times, there used to be a good deal of hardship because food was scarce. There were not many coconut trees, for only the pandanus was common in those days. There was no taro, and toddy was not cut. Fish was rarely eaten for fear that one would become too peaceable to bother about quarrels and war. [5] It was difficult to find ripe coconuts, and some people had to eat wild herbs of various species in times of hardship and famine. [6]

THE CREATING OF THE EARTH

When the earth and sky were one, the universe was called *te bomatemaki* 'the Darkness and Cleaving Together' by our forefathers. [7] Nareau alone existed long before anything else, and who his parents were is not known. He lived outside *te bomatemaki* and roamed over the top of the sky like rolling thunder. He came across a hollow space which he pierced and prized open. He went inside and found there a monstrous eel, Riki, whom he ordered to lift up the sky. Nareau then sat on the sky and instructed Riki and his companions to lift it up. Those who took part in this labour were: Nareau who exercised supreme power and authority; Riki, who straightened out his long body to do the lifting; and those who cut the restraining roots—Uka, Karitoro, Nabawe, Ngkoangkoa, Bakauaniku, and Utoaba, and perhaps others as well.

When the sky had been raised into position under his direction, Nareau remained there. He decided to cleanse it by putting all that was imperfect into a basket called *te ketenaiwa* which he lowered to earth where it still is. [8] The contents were death, sickness, old age and gray hairs, toothache, hunger, and other sorrows.

After the sky had been lifted up, Riki fell down and became the island of Nikunau. But, from time immemorial, there has been wrangling among Gilbertese sages about this tale of Nikunau, for the stories have become confused in the telling—probably because no true course was set in the first place. There is agreement about one thing only—that Nareau was the Beginning, the first among the spirits and the gods, and that he would rule over them for ever.

When Naka saw the basket that fell from the sky, he fled north with his wife Nei Nibongibong, for they were frightened by the moaning, old age, and its other contents. Naka fled to the distant lands of Bouru and Neineaba to which the dead travel to join him. [9]

THE CREATION OF KIRIBATI

Some people claim that the islands were created by Nei Nibongibong when she and Naka fled. This story, too, has been long disputed by others who hold the view that the islands existed long before Nei Nibongibong, whose part lay in the planting of Te Uekera on Tarawa. [10] Which story should we accept?

ABOUT THE SEA

There are no old stories about the sea, except that it was made when the sky was separated from the land below. Neither is there anything recorded about fishes, nor other things that must have been in the ocean when it was made.

FURTHER TALES OF SPIRITS *(ANTI)* AND GODS *(ATUA)*

It is acknowledged that Nareau was first among the spirits. No one alive today claims him as an *anti,* nor are there any totem-stones or magic attributed to him. But he is accorded pride of place for wisdom and knowledge.

Nothing is known about the origin of the *anti,* who probably were created after the heavens were raised at Nareau's command.

Tabuariki is the best known of the *anti* but the others were not subservient to him. He was the lord of lightning and of the thunder which rolled through the skies when he was angry. Like all *anti* he could heal the sick, and he ruled the winds and the rain also. Our ancestors believed that he used to hurl fiery thunderbolts from the skies.

Nei Tituabine displayed prowess in maintaining the good health and fortune of those whose *anti* she was, and in protecting them from war and other troubles.

We should probably be only wasting time to give an account of each and every *anti.* Their powers were no different from those of the two we have just mentioned. They did not make any distinction between women and men.

There was one *anti* whose habits were different from the others: he was Ten Terakunene, an *anti* of Abaiang. This is the way he carried on. He healed the sick, it is true, but he would also creep up on women and make passionate love to, and seduce, those who encouraged him. On occasions when he had intercourse with a woman she became foolish, her belly would swell up, she lost her senses and babbled nonsense, and so on. To tell the truth, one sees this kind of thing even today. A good many reverend fathers have seen it with their own eyes. [11]

Terakunene was in fact a well-known man whose heritage was Te Bakabaka at Koinawa, but because he was extremely violent he was banished to the ocean coast where, far away from women, he lived alone (it was the practice of the ancients to

banish those who were violent). He was no ordinary mortal, for a wild spirit had entered into him, and when folk brought him food he would fill them with fear. When they tried to get nearer, he ran away, bounded into the sea, disappeared, and became an *anti.* The whole story is known to the people of Abaiang.

There is also a story from Abaiang about a female *anti* called Nei Karua. She had the same sort of habits as Terakunene except that she liked to seduce men and boys, though she did not drive them crazy. [12] She wasn't an ancient *anti,* only a bony one like Terakunene. The spirit of an *anti* who used to be mortal was called a skeleton or bony *anti.*

ABOUT THE *RUOIA*

It is not known exactly when the *ruoia* was invented, but it is said by our forefathers to be very old indeed. [13] It seems to have been performed only infrequently in the old days, being reserved for such occasions as when everyone was working up courage for the battles which ravished the land in the time of our ancestors. That was also a time when everyone was busy collecting food, for there was a large crowd to feed when people poured into all the meeting places.

It was only in the days of Tem Baiteke that the *ruoia* became as popular as it was with the northern Gilbertese.

It was accorded pride of place among all entertainments and games—in fact it was the supreme entertainment. It was never performed for the purpose of bringing good luck or health but only for acclaim and honour. The king and royal family used to take part and would be the first to get up and dance.

This is the kind of thing that happened. The people of one village would get together to rehearse their songs, and other villages would do likewise. Everyone would come together when the day appointed for the festival drew near, and all of them would be brim full of good spirits as they prepared to perform their *ruoia.* A festival could not be held in any out-of-the-way place—it had to be in a maneaba; it was considered proper that the maneaba should be full of spectators to watch the dances.

It was not the done thing for a man to dance the *ruoia* in the bush or inside his house, either alone or in the presence of his wife and children. He would be regarded as a fool. But there was no objection to practising in the bush or some other secluded spot under the instruction of relatives or a

friend—especially if the purpose were to improve the elegance of a girl so that it would be good to watch her when the contest in the maneaba was in full swing.

If a *maewe* [ghost or apparition] were seen, the *ruoia* or any sport would be stopped so that the people might at once make *tabunea.* [14]

The *ruoia* did not have the power to confer good luck, victory, courage, wealth, or other benefit but it could bring honour and glory to any man who could dance it well—and what a hero he would be! A good contest fought to the end was the goal, and no one would dispute it when a fine dancer received acclaim.

A person who was too shy to dance was not despised, nor was he prevented from entering the maneaba as a spectator. Some nobles did not dance, and, although sly remarks would be made about a member of the royal family who did not participate, they would be flippant and not vindictive.

People from some islands of Kiribati used to travel to other islands by large canoe to join in *ruoia* festivals, and there are famous stories about this.

TABUNEA

There was a kind of *tabunea* connected with the *ruoia* which was used to attract the attention of women and men to the dances. But then *tabunea* was a part of everyday life, and nothing was exempt from it—joy and sorrow, work, marriage, burial, and many other things had *tabunea* attached to them. We say that "*Tabunea* is master of the *iango* [thoughts, ideas, plans, solutions, wisdom] and the gateway to all things. *Tabunea* can be cruel: *Tabunea* can be kind; *Tabunea* is effective. It can cure the sick, and so on."

THE STORY OF TERAKUNENE, *ANTI* OF ABAIANG

A long time ago, there lived on Abaiang a man called Terakunene who was the son of Te Bonginako and Nei Tinanikamauri. [15] One day, the people were preparing for a boxing contest, and the young men, who were all expected to take part, were in training. They trained on the ocean beaches to get themselves into good shape and slept alone there. Terakunene

took part in the training and used the beach east of the family land which was called Tebakabaka and which lay north of Koinawa village. His parents brought him his meals from home.

On one occasion when he was asleep on the beach, three women who came from the island of Marakei appeared to him in a dream. The women's names were Nei Rotebenua, Nei Tekukurei, and Nei Babananti, and their mission was to enchant Terakunene by anointing him with a bad-smelling lotion from a coconut shell. [16] Three nights they came and repeated their spell, the purpose of which was to instil in him the desire to see *anti.*

After that, two more *anti* came again to Terakunene—Nei Kanna and Nei Tekukurei. They also cast spells on him for three nights and thoroughly cleansed his eyes so that he could pierce the veil that separated *anti* from man. [17] At once, Terakunene's character changed and he felt like an *anti.* He could see the dwellings of the *anti* far, far away, and to all intents and purposes he had in truth become an *anti.* Meanwhile, his mother still brought him his food and was troubled when she saw the changes in him: he had no appetite and simply sat staring out over the seas. He knew his mother all right, but when she tried to take him in her arms, he evaded her. She went after him, and he jumped down onto the reef, then, as she followed, he stepped upon the surface of the sea and walked away across it. On his journey Terakunene visited the abodes of all the *anti* under the heavens and also in Mone. When he returned from the lands of *anti,* he passed through all the islands starting at Arorae. He went about his daily chores and behaved in a normal manner, hiding his change in character from other people.

On the island of Tabiteuea, there was a gathering in the village of Utiroa to choose one of two brothers as king. The elder was a leper who lived alone on the ocean coast, and the other was about to be chosen when Terakunene decided to stay on in Tabiteuea. He stayed, invisible to the people, and visited the leper, whom he befriended and cured. The two of them went down to the maneaba on the western side of the island and everyone was amazed to see the leper cured and accompanied by a handsome and healthy companion. The two brothers were crowned and Terakunene married their sister, who bore him a daughter. In due course, Terakunene set off on his travels leaving his wife and daughter behind, and when he walked away over the surface of the sea they realized he was an *anti.* He went to Nonouti first, and then to Abemama and Maiana, and in each he left his mark.

At Tarawa, he mounted a swordfish which took him to Mone where he discarded his body. He next went to Marakei to see the two women who had guided him when he first set off on his travels, and then went back to Abaiang, his home. He arrived there at night, bringing lavish presents with him, including flying fish and baskets of *babai,* to the great surprise of his parents when they awoke next morning. Terakunene had of course turned into an *anti* by then. His powers became increasingly respected in Tebakababa, and he was a great help to his parents. For example, if there were food to be carried either ashore or by canoe, he spirited it away and put it down in their home. The fame of this *anti* spread far and wide, but since he spent most of his time seducing women he came to be greatly feared.

NEI KARUA

Once upon a time, there was a woman called Nei Karua who lived south of Ewena with her husband Ten Roroa and their newborn son Biribirinnang. Roroa used to attend entertainments in the village leaving his wife, of whom he was jealous, at home. So Terakunene would take the opportunity of visiting Nei Karua and having intercourse with her.

The time came when Terakunene decided to carry off the woman, and he took it into his head to mark her breasts with his hands and teeth. When her husband saw this he threatened to beat her, but she flew aloft and perched on one of the ceiling beams. He threatened her again, and she moved to the ridgepole of the roof. The third time he threatened her he had so lost his temper that he forgot to be astonished when she flew up on to a coconut frond which did not even sway beneath her weight. She took her son with her. (She had become an *anti* because Terakunene had cast the same spell on her as the women of Marakei had cast on him long before.)

That is the story of Nei Karua. She became the inseparable companion of Terakunene wherever they went. Terakunene chased women, and Nei Karua enticed men. But men were not driven mad by Nei Karua; they only chanced on her in dreams or when they were sick in bed. These two *anti* roam all over the Gilberts.

MALODOROUS COCONUT OIL

This may be made with any old thing lying about on the ground, anything we might throw out as rubbish. It becomes valuable only when it is used in sorcery, for those things that are so used take on magical properties. It is used in black magic and in all kinds of harmful and immoral sorcery, as well as in countering spells cast to make one vulnerable to death or injury.

The concoction may be taken on board ocean-going canoes to give protection against whales, which can threaten and become a danger to canoes far out at sea. It is said that even the *anti* are scared at the sight of it.

THE USE OF *MANENRIRI*

This is a *riri* 'skirt' made from coconut leaves which women wear at work and which is on the point of being thrown away because it is filthy and worn out. It is also carried around in much the same way as magic oil.

These things are not used in magic associated with the *ruoia* or for attracting women or for any kind of good-luck spell.

PREGNANCY UP TO PARTURITION

When it is known that a woman has conceived, care is taken to hide the fact lest those who practise sorcery on pregnant women should cast an evil spell on her. Any food left over, any used towel, or anything else with which she has had contact is also safely guarded. When the good news about the pregnancy is broken, everyone gets ready for her *eremao.* [18]

This is what happens at the *eremao.* The woman is led into the low bush on the ocean edge. Her *bunna,* [19] made of plaited strands of *kiaiai* fibre, is tied around her. This is done at the sixth new moon after she has become pregnant. A *tia tobt* would have been summoned a long time before the due date of birth, and, when labour begins, the pregnant woman sits in front of the *tia katoka*. [20] If the birth is delayed, she is given a potion to drink by a person previously chosen.

When the child has been delivered, it remains in the hut or out-house where it was born, which is called the *umananti.* It stays there for three days to receive a welcome from Nei Aibong, whose home is in the heavens near the horizon. [21]

After the third day, the child is taken to another hut or into a maneaba. The ceremony is called *tebonako umanaomata.* [22] The child's sleeping mat, and all things used by it while it was in the first hut are disposed of. It is given things of its own, including a sleeping mat, on arriving in the *umanaomata* and it is welcomed with such a feast as the family can give without incurring hardship.

The *ruoia* is performed around the child's fire while it lies in the *umananti.*

THE NURSING MOTHER

A nursing mother [23] is not allowed to walk about in the hot sun lest her breast-milk should dry up. She may go out from time to time well wrapped up in a sleeping mat and with an old *riri* thrown over her shoulders. Only two kinds of food are reputed to sustain the nursing mother's milk—fresh toddy and fish. The best fish is said to be the crabs which can be dug out of the sand near the water's edge. She must abstain from intercourse with her husband for a long time lest her child should be weak and puny—it could be for up to a year or even longer.

DEATH AND THE SOUL

After death, the body is laid out for three days and is buried on the fourth. Royalty and nobles are laid to rest in the maneaba and common folk under their houses.

Everyone gathers round the corpse, which is turned and cared for by the women. Ears and teeth, hands, and the rest of the body are anointed with oil and perfume. Peeling skin is stripped off the corpse and put into a bowl of coconut oil called the *mangko ni kanei.*

Each and every corpse is laid out with head to the east, and everyone around wails in lamentation. The smell is awful, and no one likes the decay or the nausea it causes. But anyone who feels upset hides the fact from fear of humiliation. Two *wae* [dried-up coconuts] are fetched and placed in the corpse's hands as a distraction "lest his spirit should," it was said, "return to haunt his grandchildren or children." The spirit of the dead squats down a little distance away from the village. It watches the corpse and is frightened when the fire flames brightly. It stays in that place for three whole days.

When the time comes to dispose of the corpse, a *tia tabeatu* [*kaeta kawaina*] is called. [24] Then everything that has been in contact with the corpse during the three days of waiting is thrown away—sleeping mat, pulverized coconut leaves used to swab the decomposing flesh, and all other things.

The corpse is wrapped in a new sleeping mat, having first been garlanded with such fine objects as might be appropriate. This is the time when the soul prepares to leave and enter into the crowded *maneaban anti.*

All is tidied up and the *bomaki* ceremony is held to speed the spirit on its way Lamentation is forbidden at this moment, lest the spirit should return. All corpses are decked with necklaces of *nta* shells.

THE BURIAL

The grave for the corpse is dug within the village or underneath a hut. There are two alignments for burial—north-south and east-west; a west-east alignment is rare. The grave would be as deep as the length of the foot or perhaps one-and-a-half times the length of a foot. Family and friends then reassemble for a further three days of feasting while the burial ceremony proceeds. It is rather like the ceremonies which attend a birth or wedding!

DEPARTURE OF THE SOUL

After burial, the soul travels south to Nei Tituabine and then north to the land of spirits called Bouru and Neineaba, from which it never returns. Naka the ancient one went to live in these places when he ran away, and he became their ruler. Naka has a pond there stocked with a single *mon* and a coconut tree which bears a single fruit. These provide sustenance to the soul and are called *tarakaimaiu* for they grow again as often as they are taken. [25]

Naka sits facing north, never turning around, and endlessly weaving a *riena* ‘fishing net’. When a soul arrives, it approaches him on the left side so that it will not be enmeshed.

When the soul has eaten of *tarakaimaiu,* memory fades away. In truth, the soul has come home.

A celebrated woman who is a companion to Naka also lives there. She is a ruler too, and her name is Nei Karamakuna. She examines each spirit that enters for the tattoos which are her sustenance and is well fed by the spirits of those who have been tattooed in life. But she pecks the pupils of the spirits of those who have not been tattooed, though the stories say that the spirits were not really hurt by it.

Bouru and Neineaba lie to the north of Makin. Marira is also close by. They are the abodes of Gilbertese souls.

DEATH IN BATTLE OR OF CRIMINALS

When a death has been caused by violence or in battle, the corpse is quickly buried, burnt by fire or thrown away for fish or animals to eat. We do not know what happens to the souls.

MONE OR TEMAMATANNANA

It has always been said that Mone was created by Nareau at the same time as earth and sky. Bakoa is recognized as the ruler of Mone and Nei Wiriki and Nei Tinanimone are his wives. There is also mention of Enganaba, but he is inferior to Bakoa. There are many more inhabitants of Mone belonging to families of *anti* quite different from the families on earth.

SUPPOSED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE *ANTIMAOMATA* AND THE SPIRITS

There is not a great deal of difference between the *antimaomata* [26] and the *anti,* though people differ on this point. It is commonly held that the *anti* cannot be seen by human beings, or reveal themselves only occasionally, because they are separated from mankind. They have been important throughout the Gilbert Islands from time immemorial.

ANTI WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN PARTICULARLY WELL KNOWN

Anti which have been famous from the earliest times are: Taburimai, Auriaria, Riki, Nei Tewenei, and Nei Tituabine; others included Nei Rei, Nei Tereitaburi, Nei Tenaotarai, Teweia, and Kaobunang. [27] These *anti* were well known in the early days before the beginning of the historic war [of Kaitu and Uakeia], after which every *utu* had its own *anti.* It was the *moti* 'decree' from Beru, and it was spread through the Gilberts after the war; for that decision from Beru was observed, as were their laws on all matters.

THE *ANTIMAOMATA*

The belief in *antimaomata* arose later, for they were normally invisible and would only show themselves occasionally to a few people. The *anti maomata* were Terakunene, Nei Karua, Ten Tekai, and perhaps a few more, but the belief was unreliable, and its truth was not proven.

THE BARRIER (OR VEIL)

It is difficult for men and *anti* to come face to face, for there is a veil between them which is called the *kibenanimata*. [28] It is said that perhaps a man who tries to pierce the veil may occasionally succeed, or else that probably he is discovered by chance by some *anti* and is thereupon reputed to be able to see all of them. Not all *anti* can be seen, even by those skilled in magic who have acquired clear sight, for most of them remain invisible, such as those concerned with fishing, canoes, and all types of magic rituals.

ABEMAMA AND WAR

It was the decree from Beru that there should be two lodges of Auatabu and Teabike formed to assist in training for war and with the ritual for preparing young men to become warriors. [29] And so it came about on all islands except those where war was

not waged; they became famous institutions on islands where warfare was endemic. Tarawa was the most warlike island, followed by Abemama.

BY CHOICE OR BY FAME?

One could not choose a lodge: it was a matter of chance, for different lodges prevailed in different places. [30] Teabike was dominant on Tarawa, Abaiang, and Maiana. This was a cause of endless friction and enmity between Abemama and Tarawa and, when Auatabu was supreme on Abemama and Teabike on Tarawa, in the days of Ten Namoriki—the son of Ten Tetabo—the Abemamans often invaded Tarawa.

In Teng Karotu's time there were a number of Tarawans and Maiana people living on Abemama who plotted constantly but unsuccessfully to overthrow Auatabu. The war of Kunroro, or Kenna, was fought by Te Itinaibo in alliance with the Tarawa and Maiana people living on Abemama.

THE FALL OF THE LODGE OF TEABIKE ON ABEMAMA

Auatabu was powerful on Abemama and at this time it overthrew Teabike to establish a supremacy which lasted to the present time. On Kuria too Teabike was defeated after several battles.

The ancestors of the royal family and the nobility of Abemama were all adherents of Auatabu. Peace and friendship between Abemama and Tarawa were consolidated only recently [just before British rule was established], during the reigns of Tem Binoka on Abemama and Tem Matang on Tarawa.

KENNA, OR TE KUNRORO

Teng Karotu went west to Aranuka in pursuit of Ten Tebiria, who had taken offence and left. A bloody war began which, starting at Kenna, was waged from the northern villages of Abemama to south of Tokamauea. The people of Tokamauea gave battle south of their village so that its soil would not be stained by blood. The action took place at Teitai, where signs of it can still be seen in the pits of Kaokateun and Mabutonga.

Teabike won this battle, which was the first major action of the war, while Teng Karotu was still on Aranuka.

Teng Karotu was head (or chief) of the lodge of Auatabu and, returning from the west, he landed on the islet of Bike, where he was joined by those who had retreated after the first action. He waged a vigorous campaign, and his skill won him victory.

This is how Teng Karotu did it. He camped with his followers on Bike, and his enemies gathered in the village of Kenna, where they waited for uncommitted forces from Tabiang and Aonibuaka to join them. A strong southerly blew up which enabled Karotu and his men to reach Baretoa, but his arrival caused friction with the forces there. So Karotu and his army went farther south and prepared for battle at Otaao [Terianiboti]. Te Itinaibo and his men were defeated and, retreating under pressure, sailed away.

So Teabike fell and has never since been re-established. Those of its followers who stayed behind became serfs, and remain so to this day.

SECURING THE LAND

After this conflict the conquerors divided up the land, and the division still holds good. Many descendants of those who fled may be found in both the northern and southern Gilberts. Kuria and Aranuka were annexed at the same time and became dependencies of Abemama.

A Discourse on Gilbertese Dancing

EDITOR'S NOTE: This memorandum on dancing, dated February 1919, though not included in the Grimble Papers, is reproduced here because it is not only the best exposition of an important aspect of Gilbertese life but also an excellent example of the way in which Grimble used his unique local knowledge to defend island culture from would-be traducers, whether they were government officials, traders, or, as in this case, missionaries.

Grimble is clearly writing on a subject on which he was already an expert, though he had been only five years in the colony and had not yet commenced his period of anthropological fieldwork in the northern Gilberts, which resulted in nearly all his other essays and notes.

Apart from the factual information which it contains, the memorandum represents applied anthropology at its best; further, for those interested in Grimble as a littérateur, it provides the earliest example of a literary style that culminated more than thirty years later in *We Chose the Islands;* moreover, in the intensity of feeling evinced it will bear comparison with Robert Louis Stevenson's famous letter on Father Damien to another Pacific missionary, the Reverend Dr. Hyde.

Grimble is commenting on charges alleging the immoral character of Gilbertese dancing that had been prepared, translated, typed, and forwarded by the Reverend W. E. Goward, the local representative of the London Missionary Society, on information provided by two Gilbertese pastors from hearsay evidence—they themselves had not attended a dance since they were children.

Goward had long forbidden all forms of dancing (as well as smoking) for Christians, but as this edict tended to inhibit potential converts to his particularly dour brand of puritanism, he had battled for over twenty years to have the government

prohibit the popular pastime for Christians and non-Christians alike, and thus aid his efforts at proselytizing the recalcitrant heathen.

As Grimble's defence of the rights of the pagan majority would be meaningless without knowing the charges made against them they are set out verbatim below. Words or phrases in brackets were inserted by Grimble.

THE MISSIONARIES' CHARGES

Description of the evils of the *ruoia* in its unclean aspects, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, in order that it may be suppressed by his ruling

(1) When a *ruoia* [1] chant is to be made it is done with magic. And the words of the chants are based upon the evil doings of women with men, and descriptions of their eyes, the things of their bodies or breasts.

(2) The clothing of dancers. Women wear a kilt of coconut leaf or water-weed, very short, and the things of their bodies may be seen when they dance, and they also discard their clothes so that their breasts are uncovered and may be seen. [2]

(3) The place where the *ruoia* is danced. At the times permitted by law they dance in the maneaba and outside, near it. And on various other days not allowed by law they dance in the houses of Government Officials, or in the bush, wherever they like, and they do evil things, such as having sexual intercourse or making sour toddy

(4) How they dance at night in the maneaba. They have only one lamp when they dance, and the lamp is such that only those who dance in the front rank are in the light, and those in the rear are not in the light, so that men and women do just as they like, either rubbing noses, or tickling one another, or touching the things of their bodies, or the breasts of the women. And if they are in agreement to lie together they get up and leave the dance. And if they dance outside the maneaba, they do the same sort of thing. And if a man has a sweetheart, he gets up and dances with her.

(5) What is done by Kaubure [3] and Policemen who supervise the *ruoia.* There are several Kaubure and Policemen who supervise the dance, and they are aware of the things done by the people who dance, that is to say, unclean things, and they do not prevent or suppress them because they do the same things themselves; for some among them in these days are makers of love and doers of evil; for example, the following officials have been caught in these days: Buteua had connection with Tearikaete, Eketi with Nei Take, Tetekaia with Nei Tiare, and several other cases. There are also some who have not yet been punished in these days, who are in office although they misconduct themselves in love affairs.

(6) If a man is ashamed [shy] of dancing a charm is put on him and he is given to drink of ignorance, in order that he may not be ashamed.

(7) If a man is to be made beautiful in the dance so that all eyes may be drawn towards him and his name famous among dancers, an incantation and a charm are made upon him.

(8) If dancers are to face competitors, a man from one company goes and stamps upon the place where the adversaries will sit so that their song may be unresponsive [unsuccessful].

(9) When the dance takes place these things are done:
(a) Sour toddy drinking.
(b) Adultery of uncles with their nephews' wives. When the old man starts to dance his nephew's wife gets up and anoints him with oil; and in the same way, if the woman dances her uncle at law anoints her. And if another man stands by someone's "tinaba," strife and bitter jealousy arise. If a woman who has a "tinaba" wishes to relieve herself, she cannot do it at a distance, but relieves herself by her "tinaba." Another aspect of this offence: if a woman is to be anointed by her "tinaba," he rubs noses with her and sucks her breasts, and may also lie with her. And great jealousy can be fostered by her "tinaba," so that murder may sometimes be done, as in the case of Temauriki of Nikunau who murdered his "tinaba." Some women object to this practice, for they perhaps see that their "tinaba" are old men, or have other ob-

jections, and refuse to give in to them. In such cases of refusal, great anger is caused, or else the separation of children with their fathers.

(c) Love making. When a man dances, he is capable of standing opposite his sweetheart quite unashamed before the people. And when they dance the women take off their clothes and wear only short "riri" which, when shaken, show the things [organs] of their bodies. In this manner jealousy arises, and adultery, for the lust of the body overcomes all self-restraint.

(10) Games arising from the *ruoia:*

(a) *Te Karanga*. Men and women who are sweethearts stand face to face in ranks: they catch hands and catch feet, they rub noses and touch the organs of their bodies. Also, they are addicted to drunkenness, and anger and violence arise from it, such as the affair of Uerei, the Chief Kaubure of Beru, when he was angry with the Policeman Neaki who took Uerei's dancing-partner.

(b) *Te Tirere.* The chants of this game are about love-making of men and women: and the woman's name is mentioned as Nei Tire, and the man's as Ten Tire. And the words of the songs are about the unclean doings of men and women in love, and anger arises from it [the dance] if a man's dancing-partner is taken away by another, in the same way as the Karanga.

(c) *Te Kamo.* The procedure in this game is the same as in the Tirere, but no sticks are used, but the hands are moved.

(11) Abortion by striking. This is one of the things done by women pregnant by their lovers. If a woman is pregnant by her lover she is afraid that the people will know her conduct with her lover. So she goes to a woman who knows how to abort her child by tapping so that the people may not know of her conduct with her lover. Aborted children have been stranded on the beach at Beru, which is known by Tuari, Iuta, and Taweti. Not only this; there is another method used by women to obtain premature birth; they rub their stomach and are given medicine to drink. And all these things arise from the *ruoia* now that men are gathered together for it.

Te tirere 'the stick dance' disapproved of by the Protestant Mission. (Bermond: n.d.)

One more thing that we wish to expose is that the people change the name of the *ruoia* in these days and call it the *'Batere',* because [under cover of that name] they wish to do evil: the things they do are the same as in the *ruoia.* So that it is known by people accustomed to the *ruoia* that the things done in it are evil.

GRIMBLE'S RESPONSE

Memorandum on the Gilbert *ruoia,* with especial reference to the charges brought against dancing by the mission teachers of the southern Gilberts

I. General

(1) As a general defence of the *ruoia* against the charge that it promotes evil living, the question may be asked, "How is it that, in the pagan, dancing North, there is less immorality, less sour-toddy drinking, and less crime than in the puritan, danceless South?" One hesitates to answer the question as one has no will to appear an opponent of Christian endeavour. Yet one is equally averse to pass in silence a slanderous attack on what is best in paganism.

We have been given the views of (one hopes) but a few fanatics on the question of the Gilbert dance—and, as it would appear, of very ill-informed fanatics. Their utterances, and no doubt their consciences, have been misguided by the bitterest sectarian feelings. In their sphere, these are truly upright and sincere men—nobody would wish to deny it. But it becomes the government to regard the matter in a broader, perhaps more Christian, and certainly truer light than they.

The memorandum under notice appears to demand an answer charge by charge. But before doing this, for the sake of clearness, it is necessary to deal shortly with the foundations of Gilbert dancing, an art which in the opinion of R. L. Stevenson is rivalled nowhere else in the Pacific.

First, any Gilbert dance presupposes two creators—one the poet, who composes the chant, another the "raiser of hands," who accommodates the movements of the dancers to the words.

(2) The Poet, about whom more will be said in answer to the first charge brought by the mission teachers, is a much-considered personage who, in Gilbert phrase, "comes from a high place under the sun and the moon," and treats with a technique the most exacting and complicated.

Beyond mere happiness of diction, with its very precise rules as to the *mot juste,* and beyond the exigencies of a beautiful system of cadences, he must observe his "greater and lesser pauses"; his solos and his duos; his phone and antiphone; his very curious relations of fact and metaphor; his oblique introduction, which blossoms into the central argument; and his finale which, like the sestet of a sonnet, brings to a point the antecedent ideas, and in addition finds room for the personal boast of the poet, being ended as a rule in a high strain of panegyric. Thus much, in an unhappily short space, for the poetic canons.

(3) The Raiser of Hands may be an individual, but so exquisitely difficult and so minutely exact are the movements of torso, head, eyes, and arms in the dance, that it is usually a committee of past masters who preside at the adaption of gestures to words. When the poet has made his song he submits it to such a committee, and, unless he too be an expert in gesture, the matter then passes out of his control.

The village dancers assemble in the maneaba, having duly pronounced charms for quickness of tongue and grace of body, and phrase by phrase learn the new song. As each phrase becomes known, the experts consult and sketch the appropriate attitudes, which are tried and retried until satisfaction is reached. There are interminable repetitions, recommencements, alterations, night after night, until the flesh is weary and the chant sickeningly familiar. But from a ragged performance of ill-timed voices and uncertain movements, *the ruoia* becomes a magnificent harmony of bodies, eyes, and arms—even of hands and fingertips—swinging, undulating, and poising in perfect attunement, through a thousand graceful attitudes to the organ-note of fifty voices chanting in absolute rhythm. When such a point is reached the Raisers of Hands pronounce the dance ready for production at the next gathering of the people, on such occasions as New Year, King's Birthday, or Empire Day.

(4) The Dancers. One notices always on the faces of the dancers an expression of total preoccupation, as of people busy with introspection. This is due to the conscious effort of memory imposed upon them. The dance is of such extreme complication that without unremitting attention it becomes ragged (or in native phrase "hung up") and falls to pieces. An error of three inches in the transitory position of a hand is considered a grave mistake; yet the hand must describe hundreds of swift movements before a dance is done.

These facts alone discount the comic assertion of the teachers that the natives find time during their dance to commit indiscretions together. One who makes the smallest error in the *ruoia,* sit he in the remotest corner even, is immediately detected by the audience of specialists and "roasted" publicly. And such is the Gilbert man's reverence for his dancing that it is absolutely impossible to conceive one who, having sat down to take his part, would commit the offence of dividing his attention.

(5) Classification of Dances. There are many kinds of dance, of which the *ruoia* (whose name is generically applied to all) is but one. Those permitted by government at present are such as would give rise neither to jealousy nor immorality among the natives. Those chiefly practised are:

(a) *Te bino,* the most popular of all: a sitting dance arranged either in a crescent or in a circle of several rows. There are various arrangements of the dancers, which are called generically "canoes" or "vessels." The "canoe of Tarawa," the "canoe of Abemama," the "canoe of Banaba" are three well-known dispositions. Either one, two, or three dancers sit isolated between the horns of the crescent, or in the middle of the circle, leading the dance. These are called the "keel of the canoe." The *bino* is concerned with what may be called the lyric poetry of the group. Themes of love are its chief pre-occupation. They are dealt with in a manner which impresses one with its extraordinary delicacy. It may be observed that this is remarkable among a folk whose conversation is not noted for its cleanliness. Left for an evening in his home, with a mind unoccupied, the native will infallibly find his chief delight in conversations of a very high colour relating to the "one subject." The same native, permitted to dance, will have neither time nor desire to talk filth, or think filth. His Wednesday and Saturday evenings will be occupied in the practice of an art which keeps mind and body healthily busy The intervening nights are taken up by private practising and consideration of the particular dance which engages his attention. In this perhaps lies the explanation of the curious moral and domestic superiority of the dancing north over the danceless south, as shown by statistics.

The latter remarks apply to all legal dances, but particularly to the *bino,* which presumably on account of its connection with the unholy sentiment of love is anathema to the mission teachers.

Besides treating of purely lyric matter, the *bino* may be heroic or elegiac in nature. It is particularly used to do collective honour to distinguished companies, for example, winning sides in great wars. In such a case, after a fitting choral introduction, the chief general would be lauded in a solo, and the

lesser leaders celebrated in chorus name by name thereafter. So great is such an honour considered that an old man will weep for joy in hearing his name pronounced in song. For the *bino* is the only historic vehicle of the islands; only by famous chants handed down from generation to generation, from century even to century, can the memory of a man's deeds live. What is more important springing from this—only by preserving this dance can the government keep alive among the natives a pride in the great actions of their forefathers. It is the sole ground upon which the native sense of nationality may be established.

(b) *Te ruoia.* This is the most popular of the standing dances. Men only take part. It is of heroic nature, dealing with wars and voyages of humans and heroes. It is guided, as the *bino* and all other dances, by the most stringent rules of deportment and composition. In contradistinction to the *bino,* the *ruoia* deals not with companies of heroes but with individuals.

(c) *Te kamei.* A standing dance for men, dealing with deeds of gods and spirits. It is closely connected with the now extinct ritual games of these islands.

(d) *Te buata.* A sitting dance for small numbers of men, celebrating solely the voyages of the gods.

(e) *Te tangi ni wenei.* Dirges to the newly dead. These may be performed solo or in the setting of the *bino* interspersed with solos. Some such chants are of great beauty of diction and betray a depth of genuine sympathy for which one's daily experience of apparent native callousness does not prepare one.

There are several other forms of dance permitted by the government, among which must not be forgotten the exclusively Banaban *karanga* 'stick dance'; or the chants for one, two, three, or four voices in honour of particular achievements (but unaccompanied by gesture); or, last of all, the *kabure,* in which two couples sit face to face in the form of a cross and, clapping one another's hands in complicated sequence, chant songs of which often the race has forgotten the meaning.

Of the illegal dances, very rightly suppressed by the government and, in the writer's experience, little regretted by the native, it is unnecessary to speak, as they will be mentioned in answer to explicit charges.

The traditional ruoia. (Carmichael and Knox-Mawer 1968, 40 + 35)

(6) The Mission Teachers. Speaking generally, the plan followed by the mission in the preparation of teachers is as follows. Boys who have learned all that the village schools can teach them are selected, with a view to their good behaviour and intelligence, for further training at the excellently organised Central Schools at Beru. Here they spend, as a rule, not less than four years. If by character and studies during that period they seem to show a true vocation, they are after their final tests drafted out into villages as teachers. They are picked men, generally of excellent morals and behaviour.

But it must never be forgotten that they are natives, having the psychology of natives. That is to say, they are incapable of seeing two sides of a question; very jealous and therefore very bigoted; very malleable, trained for at least eight years to certain intransigent views, and therefore entirely one-sided. What is not Protestant to them is not only worthless but wicked (with certain individual exceptions).

A modern ruoia, in which women form the front row of dancers. (Phelan 1958, facing p. 96)

The wise government policy of tolerating and protecting all rituals, even pagan rituals, alike, so long as decency and order permit, has probably never been apparent to them—even if it were it would be deplored as a catastrophe by these really earnest and lovable men.

In nothing are these points so well illustrated as in their attitude towards the dance. To them, as a remnant of paganism, it is automatically anathema. Their Christian zeal knows no such thing as toleration. As a pagan thing the *ruoia* is anti-Christ: as anti-Christ it should be abolished by government. One sees in their attitude the proof of a true and sincere love of their own cause, which cannot escape admiration, but it would be a sad day for justice if their very limited views were adopted. Let us not forget that they represent the feelings of but one section of the Gilbert people and not the only Christian section. The Catholic Church, which has a larger following in the group than the Protestant, permits the legal *ruoia,* even in [the area surrounded by] its fences. And for every two Christians in the Gilbert Islands there are three pagans. If the dance is of such shocking immorality as the teachers suppose, how is it that no complaints have emanated from Catholic missionaries also, who

are no less sincere in their faith? And how is it that these good men can allow the dance to take place by the very precincts of their churches?

The accusation of the teachers reflect unfavourably not only on the sincerity of all Catholic missionaries; they are equally wounding to the government. The flag has been established for twenty-seven years in these islands, and there have been numbered among the official staff men of unrivalled knowledge in native affairs. The integrity of these is now called into question. Had there been such leprous abuses they would have seen them. Is it to be supposed that having seen, they suppressed their knowledge—every one of them, without exception? It is indeed hard to believe.

And lastly, one would question the knowledge of the teachers. These are Gilbert men who speak, it is true. But they are Gilbert men trained from an early age to abhor the dance and to keep away from it.

Starting in infancy, it takes a Gilbert man, according to experts, from fifteen to twenty years to learn all he should know about the dance. Generally speaking, a Protestant teacher would not have been more than fourteen to sixteen years old when removed from the influence of the *ruoia.* At that age he would know little or nothing about it. Whatever he may have known would subsequently become hateful to him by careful teaching. It may be argued that the memorandum of the teachers was compiled on evidence received from converted dancers. But it will be realised that the forsaking of the dance was the first article in the conversion of such witnesses. Having become Protestants, and wishing to call themselves true Protestants, they say what they know they are expected to say. They are natives, and natives rarely have the moral courage to testify contrary to authority. Above all, they hope to acquire favour by loading the *ruoia* with the stereotyped calumnies.

The following notes will treat under separate heads with the abuses mentioned by the teachers:

II. Witchcraft, paragraphs (1), (6), (7), and (8).
III. Immorality, paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (9).
IV. Forbidden Games, paragraphs (9) and (10).
V. Abortion, paragraph (11).

II. Witchcraft

The charge in para. (1) is that when a dancing song is to be composed, it is done by the aid of *tabunea,* that is, magic. This is perfectly true. Why not? Such magic has no connection whatever with those forms prohibited in Law 19 of the Native Code. By that law is prohibited sorcery, which has been rightly and comprehensively rendered into Gilbert as "Praying to death and other bad magic." [4] In other words the law forbids any sort of magic which might threaten peace, person, or property. Is it suggested that *tabunea,* of which the following is an exact rendering, falls into such a class?

> May my words take wing, may they fly.
> May they take wing and fly.
> O Taburimai, O Auriaria,
> May no evil spirit come near, only let no evil spirit arise
> and come upon me.
> May my song soar and fly.
> Behold a frigate-bird flying!
> I shall not fall, I shall not be deserted.
> Good fortune be mine; good words be mine. Peace!

Apart from its beauty, could anything be less menacing to peace and good morals? It is the poet's simple prayer, probably some centuries old, to the spirits Taburimai and Auriaria, that he may be the writer of a soaring song.

In para. (6) it is said, with that air of grave honour which pervades the report, "If a man be ashamed to dance a spell is cast upon him and he is given to drink of the drink of ignorance." This is picturesquely put, but inaccurate. It is the drink, not the man, that undergoes the spell. If a native suffers from stage-fright, his mother or grandparent will mix him a magic potion. It consists of the water of a young coconut into which are thrown the orange-coloured flowers of the *kaura,* a certain weed. The philtre is charmed by an incantation, and the nervous young person drinks it. The belief is that the warm colour of the flower distils confidence in the veins of the drinker.

In para. (7) is condemned the magic of the dancer who desires to attract attention. This is called *te kaeke* 'the making distinguished'. Two slips of coconut leaf are knotted together to form a slim necklace. The whole is then held in the left hand and stroked with the right to the following whispered accompaniment (supposing the speaker a youth):

By my tying of the knots, by this tying, let them (i.e., the spirits) come, let them come.
Let them overturn the hearts of the dancing girls; of the girls who are the delight of their homes.
By my tying of the knots, I am goodly.
I am beautiful; clearly seen; the first to be beheld.
By my stroking of the leaf from once to ten times, all the dancers and people fall before me.
They shall gaze on my finger-tips; they shall hasten and crowd; they shall eagerly speak my name.
Only my name; only mine, mine, mine.

Calling his name once aloud the speaker then slips the necklace in place and departs full of hope to the dance.

Charge (8) deals with an equally harmless *tabunea.* Precisely as stated by the teachers, if two sets of performers are to compete before an audience, each company will delegate a representative to "darken" the place of its adversary. The "darkening" is effected by treading the ground where the adversary is to sit and muttering the following words:

Breed, darkness, breed!
May their hands be hidden.
May their faces be unseen.
May the skin of their bodies be hidden.
May their song be unheard.
May they be conquered,
May we have victory; only we; only we, only we, only we.
Dark, dark, dark.
Dark, dark, dark.

Such a charm is often performed amid roars of laughter before the whole assembly, by the village humorist. Even when performed seriously and in private it could by no possibility cause trouble, as all parties are fully aware that it takes place and invariably believe in the superior efficacy of their own magic.

It is hoped that the above illustrations, directly bearing on the accusations made by the native teachers will serve to show both the insufficiency of the charges and the innocuous nature of magic in general, as practised in the islands. The *tabunea* is certainly not a Christian institution, but it breaks no law, and not by the wildest stretch of imagination could it be accused of endangering public or domestic peace. Under a government whose policy is religious tolerance so far as decency and peace

permit, it is intolerable to think that any harmless pagan ritual whatever should be interfered with. Since when has Christianity enjoyed a monopoly of government protection? While a single pagan subsists in the group, observing the peaceful rites inaugurated by his forefathers, he has an equal claim upon our courtesy, our tolerance, and our justice. His religious practices are protected by the Pacific Order in Council, a fact which has not saved him from the interruption and insult of his ceremonies. In cases known to the writer only the wise self restraint of the so-called ignorant heathen averted murder, on the rude desecration of his sacred places by over-zealous evangelists. It is not always the pagan whose persuasion has led him to endanger peace.

A fact not shown in the charge-sheet of the teachers is that no single business of pagan life is without its attendant *tabunea.* If we are to prohibit the *ruoia* because it encourages magic, we must logically for the same reason forbid fishing, food-getting, canoe-building, sleeping, dreaming, and in fact even the acts of birth and death; because none of these can take place without *tabunea.*

III. Immorality

(a) Immorality of songs. The second half of para. (1) asserts that the words of the *ruoia* chants "are based upon the evil doings of women and men, and deal with their eyes and things of their bodies and their breasts."

Reference will now be made solely to those forms of dancing permitted by government. The accusations of the teachers are levelled at all dancing. To the illegal forms they make special reference, and that will be discussed later.

For three years the writer has collected popular dance songs from all parts of the Gilberts. Only on the island of Abemama has he found indecent wording, but that island is an exception to all that is best in the group.

Let it be admitted that hundreds of songs are indeed "based upon the doings of women and men"—they are, in fact, love-songs. But why "the evil doings," so styled by the teachers? Is it evil for example to sing:

I lay awake with watchful eye: my heart was torn in two.
I wondered how again I should contrive to lie in the arms
of my beloved.

> "How deep," I thought, "will be her words, how swift her sighs. When again I lie in her arms."

Is this evil? It is a good example of the usual love-strain of the island songs. To some it would appear beautiful.

And most assuredly, as the teachers say, the native poetry "deals with the eyes" of women. Are we seriously asked to condemn it?

As for the "breasts" so dismally mentioned, they are also fitly celebrated, but the unpoetic word *mamma* given by the teachers is never used; it is always *manawa,* which is properly not breast but bosom and refers to the space between the breasts where the lover's head lies. And always may it be remembered that the breast was never a thing of shame until the mission made it so.

The teachers have forgotten to mention the thigh of the woman, which is a favourite object of the poet's praise, while the navel often excites his admiration. As for that ambiguous phrase of the teachers, "the things of their bodies"—they have pitched upon an idiom more suggestive of nastiness than ever appeared in the songs they condemn.

(b) Immorality of dress. In para. (2) are called in question the costumes of the dancers—"women wear a short *riri* of coconut leaf or water-weeds … and put off the covering of their breasts, which are then seen".

The teachers here have the temerity to invite government condemnation of the Gilbert national costume, to which the Islanders have been accustomed for hundreds of years.

Only one remark need be made: all government officials have noticed that one hears of least immorality and least adultery from those villages where the simple national costume is still retained. The more we Europeanise clothing the more vitiated do native morals become. Vide the case of licentious Abemama, where the women have reached the stage of underclothes and aphrodisiac vice. In the five southern islands, where the national dress is almost extinct, there is more immorality than in all the rest of the Gilberts, excepting Abemama.

Needing special attention is the teachers' statement that the women who wear *riri* in the dance expose the "things of their bodies." If this horrible phrase be taken (as it must) to mean their pudenda it is a foul-minded slander, not the less beastly because uttered in ignorance. In respect of the sex-organ no woman in the world is more sensitively modest than the Gilbert woman. Be her morals and behaviour never so sluttish, she will

Te rorobuaka 'a young man' in traditional dance dress and ornaments, Beru. (Maude photo)

rather die than expose herself as stated by the teachers. It is impossible to condemn too strongly this unwarrantable defamation, which indicates a deep-seated prurience of mind.

(c) Immorality of conditions. Paras (3) and (4) deal with the locality and extraneous conditions under which the *ruoia* takes place. The government times for *ruoia* are from 6 P.M. to 90 P.M. on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the maneaba. The people are allowed to practise at home in companies of not more than four in a house, provided they make no noise. The teachers assert that "on days not allowed by law the people dance in the houses of Government officials." They probably refer to the perfectly legal practising above noted. This should be enquired into.

The teachers further state, "the people dance in the bush, where they please, doing evil things such as making love and sour toddy."

Te tei aine ‘a young woman’ wearing the traditional dance costume, Beru. (Maude photo)

Cases do indeed come to court where a few people have danced in prohibited places. Cases also arise when Christians play cards, for example, in prohibited places. But only a rabid anti-Christian would blame the creed for the offence. Every persuasion has its lawbreakers.

To attribute “making love” to the *ruoia* alone is amusingly insufficient. Making love is the national pastime. It is not believed that there exist a hundred virgins over sixteen in the whole group. Of these the vast majority will be found among the daughters of pagan chieftains in the north, who adhere to the old, stern moralities. Making “sour toddy” cannot by any effort of imagination be attributed to the *ruoia.* In the southern islands perhaps five per cent of the people dance; in the northern islands, ninety per cent. Yet sour-toddy drinking is practically confined to the south.

In para. (4) a confused list of offences is attributed to the absence of illumination. The fact is, the native cannot afford kerosene for more than one lamp. They delight in brilliant illumination, which displays their skill. A white official is constantly embarrassed by requests for kerosene. To insinuate that dancers desire darkness for evil purposes is false. They do not desire but deplore darkness.

Para (5) contains a general accusation against members of the native governments, of misbehaviour and condonement of offences at the dance. Special cases are cited in which individual officials have been found out and punished for their offences. This was as it should be. But the teachers have left their general charges vague and should be called upon to substantiate them in more definite form.

One freely admits that the dancing public commit all manner of sexual offences; but so does the Christian population. It is as fair to say that dancing is a cause of offence in the former as that Church-going is in the latter. No Gilbert community is immune from sexual faults. But, let it never be forgotten, there is more of this crime in the convert South than in the pagan North.

(d) Sour-toddy drinking, etc.. Under para (9) it is stated, When the *Ruoia* takes place, the following things are done: (a) sour toddy drinking, (b) *tinaba* (i.e., adultery with niece by marriage).

Sour-toddy drinking has already been mentioned. It is practically confined to the almost danceless south.

Tinaba, or adultery with a nephew's wife, was in the old days the common native practice. A newly wedded wife would approach her "uncle-at-law" with gifts of scented oil, mats, and dancing-wreaths, and would occasionally lie with him, in return for which she received land under the title known as *te bora.* If her uncle-at-law vomited after drunkenness, it was her duty to remove the vomit, and she would acquire for such service more land called *te aba ni mumuta* 'vomit land'.

Nowadays only the name of *tinaba* exists; by it is meant "a niece at law." She is still expected to make dancing wreaths for her husband's uncle and to anoint him with oil. But it is a mere mark of filial respect and, as such, desirable. It is evil-minded to suppose that it leads to illicit or illegal practices. The teachers have cited one case; no doubt more could be found, for a national custom dies hard. The *ruoia* certainly does not encourage

it any more than the marriage of a girl and boy could be said to encourage it. It would be considered silly to blame marriage; it is equally silly to blame the *ruoia.*

IV. Forbidden games

Para. (9c) describes dancers in the *ruoia* as being "face to face with their sweethearts" and standing thus with them "unashamed before the People." This must refer to the prohibited forms of dancing; there is no formation at present allowed by government which could bring a man and woman face to face (except the *kabure,* for four people, which has nothing to do with love). If the teachers, however, deny this they should be asked to specify the dance. Para. (10) details certain of the prohibited forms of dancing. It will be noted that the *karanga* here mentioned has nothing to do with the Banaban form of stick-dance already referred to.

All these dances (or rather games) were prohibited by government fifteen years ago, and remained in abeyance until an officer, who has now left the group, recently permitted them to be revived for a period of a few months. It is without doubt true that they were in old times particularly designed for men and their mistresses, and as such were conducive to jealousy. They were again prohibited in October 1918 by Mr. Anderson, throughout the southern Gilberts. There is therefore no need for further action in this matter.

V. Abortion

The final paragraph of the teachers deals with the very grave matter of abortion. This, according to the explicit statement of the teachers, "grows from the *ruoia,* now that the people are gathered together for it." One remains appalled by the ignorance and malice of this assertion.

As for the existence of abortion in the group, there can unfortunately be little doubt that it is here and there practised, although cases are exceedingly difficult to bring home. But fear of the severe punishment provided by Law 3 of the Native Code has greatly limited the incidence of this offence. This is one of the few cases in which law has indeed improved native morals.

The crime would be committed by a girl pregnant with her lover, either to avoid shame for herself or to be rid of a child which would inherit no land from its father. It might also be perpetrated by the mother of a large family unwilling to bear

more children. It may be said that while sexual desire exists and women remain fertile there will always be danger of occasional offences of this kind. They are the byproducts of love and marriage, just as tyranny may be the by-product of law, or bigotry of virtue.

An individual case is cited by the teachers, as follows: "aborted children have been stranded on the beach, as is known to Tuari, Iuta, and Teweti."

Tuari, the magistrate, and Iuta, the chief *kaubure,* of Beru have been called and examined. It appears that some five years ago the foetus of a child was found on the lagoon beach at Beru. Very strict enquiries were made, but no evidence of any sort was obtainable. The foetus was not more than three months old (the native has a very exact knowledge of such matters).

A perfectly probable explanation is that a woman three months pregnant had a miscarriage. The Gilbert woman is strangely ashamed of such an accident, first from a natural native horror of the abnormal and secondly because she fears to be accused of abortion. She will always do her best to hide a miscarriage.

The teachers' assumption that this was an aborted child is maliciously sweeping. In this case, as elsewhere in their memorandum, they show an unchristian readiness to believe the worst of their countrymen.

Most iniquitous of all is the charge that abortion springs from the *ruoia.* It has been made without possible evidence of any sort and is of the nature of a grave slander. The teachers have made what amounts to a direct accusation against the dancers, that they alone are guilty of an abominable crime. This is a universal defamation of a well-defined community. To that community is due the protection of government as of right. We should fall short of our duty if we failed to guarantee them against such recklessness; we should certainly endanger public peace if by failing to call the offenders to justice we encouraged a repetition of their methods.

EDITOR'S FOOTNOTE: E. C. Eliot, the Resident Commissioner at Ocean Island, read these documents when visiting the Western Pacific High Commission in Suva. Accustomed to the formalised officialese of his professional colleagues, he was no admirer of Grimble's literary prose and had already asked Sir Cecil Rodwell, the High Commissioner, "not to allow the somewhat pedantic expression of his reports to detract from the soundness of the views expressed"! On this occasion, however,

Eliot, while supporting his District Officer's submission, was mainly concerned that both memoranda should be kept locked up "as they are not suitable for the Girl Clerks to see"—*autres temps autres moeurs*.

The eventual outcome of the dispute was that the Reverend W. E. Goward, with his antediluvian attitude towards most Gilbertese recreational activities, retired on pension and was replaced by the more modern-minded G. H. Eastman, who in 1926 persuaded the Protestant Island Church Councils to rescind the prohibition on Christians dancing.

Once again the *ruoia,* together with the more modern and easily learnt *batere,* became immensely popular pastimes throughout the Gilberts, and it was soon obvious that should any further attempt be made to prohibit dancing to church adherents it would be the number of Christians rather than the number of dancers that would decline.

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ANU	Australian National University
HMSO	Her/His Majesty's Stationery Office, Great Britain
NSW	New South Wales
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
RSPS	Research School of Pacific Studies
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission

Notes

All references have been inserted by the Editor. Substantive notes are by Grimble, except where indicated by "Ed."

A. F. GRIMBLE AS AN ANTHROPOLOGIST

1. Grimble 1913.
2. Grimble 1926; 1952*a*, 3; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 5.
3. Grimble 1913, 1926.
4. Grimble 1926.
5. Grimble 1913.
6. Grimble 1957*a*, 6.
7. Grimble 1952*a*, 128–133.
8. Grimble 1920.
9. Grimble 1918.
10. Ibid.
11. Grimble 1924.
12. Grimble 1925.
13. Grimble 1931.
14. Grimble 1926.
15. Grimble 1930.

THE GRIMBLE PAPERS

1. Grimble 1964.
2. Grimble 1933–1934.

3. Goodenough 1955, 74.
4. Lowie 1937, 6.
5. Goodenough 1955, 73–76; Lundsgaarde and Silverman 1972; Latouche 1984, 24n.
6. Carmack 1972, 238–242.

ADOPTION

For research studies on Gilbertese adoption published since Grimble's time see Maude and Maude 1931; Lambert 1964, 1970; Lundsgaarde 1970*b*; Silverman 1970.—Ed.

1. The meaning of these statements is not quite clear to me but I surmise that Grimble was considering the possibility of marriage between the near kin of an adopted person and the near kin of the adopter as affected by their being clan members of the same totem group; or more precisely by their being clan co-members, since the Gilbertese recognized clan exogamy rather than exogamy between members of the same totemic group: a Karongoa Raereke man could marry a Taunnamo woman regardless of their sharing the same totems, as their clans were different. Grimble's conclusion here seems to be that members of the same clan as an adopted person could marry the near kin of the adopter provided they did not come within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, i.e., possessing a common ancestor up to the generation of *tibu toru* 'great grandparents'. See also Maude 1963, 42–43, 63.—Ed.
2. Maude and Maude 1932, 288–289.

AGRICULTURAL RITUALS

1. There are many other forms of *rabu,* and the most usual method of indicating that a tree is protected by a *rabu* is to put an old *riri* around it.—Ed.

2. These are the names of the spiritual powers who carry into effect the curse of the formula. They are in no sense supplicated or invoked, their obedience being procured by the declamation of the correct spell and the completion of the ritual. *Kakang* means to eat human flesh; *oraora,* to eat uncooked food; and *mata,* face or eyes.
3. Rosemary Grimble 1972, 17–18 has a differently worded and abridged version.—Ed.
4. From his rising until noon the sun is said to be *marau* 'agile or active', and therefore helpful for the purpose of magic rituals. After noon he becomes *makanakana* 'soft or unhelpful'. [The popular story current on all islands holds that the Sun was male, but a probably older and less widely known story tells us that the Sun was originally female and called Nei Tai; see Rosemary Grimble 1972, 132–135; and Teeko p. 301.— Ed.]
5. *Antini karaka* may be translated as "new-fangled spirits," or more literally "spirits to increase number." The word *raka* always means a surplus: an addition either to number or knowledge.
6. The name *Bitanikai* is here given to the spiritual power believed to reside in the staff. *Nanonikai* means heart-of-staff, i.e., "He-who-lives-within-the-staff." The attitude is purely animistic and, as such, sharply contrasted with that adopted a little later, when the protection of Auriaria and Tabuariki is invoked. An example of syncretism.
7. The rock that forms highest heaven; the hard coral that is the foundation of the underworld; the clam-shell of Auriaria, King of Heaven.
8. Rosemary Grimble 1972, 18–21.
9. See Death: Burial in the Sitting Position (Marakei), where it is stated that only one *utu* actually performed this ceremony.—Ed.
10. Most Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables north and south and sides facing east and west.

11. A span *(te nga)* is the full stretch of a man's outspread arms, from tip to tip of the middle fingers.
12. *Bitanikai* 'magic tree'. *Bitanikai* in this context means to the performer changing-of-trees, with reference to the fructification of his pandanus trees, which would otherwise not be productive.
13. *Bung* 'gives birth'. This is the usual meaning of *bung,* but the word is also used to denote the setting of sun or moon. Those who use the ritual state that the meaning of birth is here intended, the idea being that the north, south, east, and west are made fruitful by the ceremony. The fact that the sun is setting at the same moment gives a punning effect to the word. Puns are not infrequent in Gilbertese magic, their force to the mind of the Islander being always esoteric.
14. *Te iti ma te ro* 'the rain-cloud'. The words literally mean "the lightning-with-the-darkness", and refer to the alternate flickering of lightning and blackness which is seen in the rain-clouds of the westerly winds.
15. On the overside of the sun: the performer believes that, as the sun sinks below the horizon, the roots of his magic tree become planted upon its overside.
16. *Bita-bongibong* 'magic-tree-in-the-twilight'. *Bita* is the first component of *bitanikai,* and stands for the whole word; *bongibong* signifies "growing dark."
17. *Mataburo* 'opening pandanus bloom'. A technical word of the same family as *taba* 'young, i.e., unopened, pandanus bloom'. Both these words are inapplicable to any other kind of flower.
18. *Mauri,* rendered "prosperity and prosperous," is difficult to interpret in a single word. It indicates a condition of being free from the influence of all evil magic and so in a state of peace, health, or general prosperity.
19. The allusion here is to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Abaiti, called the Ancestress Sun.
20. *Tabera* 'crest': the crest is "the body of the Sun."

21. Teweia is said to have been the mother's father of Tanentoa II, the Karongoa High Chief of Beru. He is reputed to have been the builder of Tanentoa's maneaba and, as such, adopted by the Chief as a deity after his death. [Teweia was surely the mother's brother of Tanentoa II; see Maude 1963, 11–12.—Ed.]
22. For the making of *kabubu* and *korokoro* see Grimble 1933–1934, 36–39, 42.—Ed.
23. *Rabarabani karawa* 'hidden places of heaven'. This phrase is commonly used to indicate, not the zenith, but the sides of heaven hidden below the horizon. In this context it refers to the far lands of the ancestral deities.
24. Grimble 1933–1934, 44–45.

ANCESTOR CULT

1. See also Grimble 1921*b*, 46–47.

ANCESTRAL LANDS

1. The Butaritari version has not been found, but the Tarawa narrative is in Grimble 1964, A(5)(c), and is reproduced in Rosemary Grimble 1972, 226–228.—Ed.
2. There is a sudden transition in this paragraph from myth to history. The chronicler uses the dramatic opportunity offered by the quarrel of Nei Tewenei with her husband to introduce the sketch of a migration out of Matang into the Gilbert Group.
3. The wild almond *(te kunikun—Terminalia catappa),* grows only on Banaba. —Ed.

4. The allusion is to the "face" of the coconut, which is believed to be the face of Nei Tituabine, and from which a man (though not a woman) is obliged to drink. The rubbing of noses—or rather nostrils—is the love greeting in the Gilbert Islands.
5. All Gilbertese sleeping mats are manufactured of pandanus leaf.
6. Grimble 1933–1934, 55–59.
7. Grimble 1933–1934, 71.
8. Grimble 1933–1934, 56.
9. All kinds of rays are associated with Nei Tituabine, but the giant ray is the variety used as a totem by the clan of Keaki, whose totem is the tropic-bird. [See Grimble 1933–1934, table facing 20, 72.]
10. Grimble 1921*b*, 42–44.
11. Bouru, that other *renga* paradise associated with Matang, has also given its name to a pandanus tree, *te Ara-bouru.* A third variety of the plant to be called after a western fatherland is *te Annabanaba.* The name of Nabanaba is also attached to a form of cooking oven and to a variety of Malay custard apple. [Grimble 1933–1934, 9, 29.]

ANIMALS

1. Grimble and Clarke 1929, 32.
2. For a description of Gilbertese marriage ritual see Grimble 1921*b,* 29–34. —Ed.
3. For other animals used as food in the Gilberts see Grimble 1933–1934, 28.—Ed.

ARCHAEOLOGY

1. A more detailed account of the construction, use and location of the seventeen Banaban terraces is in Maude and Maude 1932, 278–283, figures 3–6, appendixes 1, 6, 7.—Ed.

BIRTH

1. For various forms of *te wawi* see Magic; *te wauna* is merely a variety of *te wawi* directed against pregnant women. The British colonial government's attitude towards both is set out in Grimble and Clarke 1929, 6–7.—Ed.
2. There is a similar, but in some respects more detailed, account in Grimble 1921*b,* 34–36, and another by Airam Teeko in this volume.—Ed.

CANOES AND NAVIGATION

1. Described in Grimble 1924.—Ed.
2. Grimble 1933–1934, 87–89.
3. Kennedy 1931, 98; Grimble 1924, plate 21.
4. Grimble 1924, 107–108. Kennedy (1931, 78) records a similar "bulge" in the hull of Vaitupuan canoes. The possibility of Gilbertese influence emanating from Nui should be considered in this connection.—Ed.
5. Grimble 1924, 123; Hedley 1897, plate 15.
6. Haddon 1920, 131.

CONVEYANCE AND INHERITANCE

For recent research on *te toba* on Butaritari see Lambert 1964, 1970.—Ed.

1. See also the following two sections.—Ed.
2. Called elsewhere by Grimble *kaonikibakiba.*—Ed.

3. Lit. “The middle of the named land (in this case Bangkai) is prodded.” —Ed.
4. This was written before the lands settlement of Banaba in 1931–1932, when it was found that land could in fact only be transmitted to someone other than the next-of-kin by a conveyance recognized by Banaban custom (these are detailed in Maude and Maude 1932, 288–291.—Ed.
5. This item was extracted from the “Interim Report on the Progress of the Native Lands Commission from the 1st January to the 30th April, 1925.” It was written by Grimble on 13 May 1925, and is the only note on this interesting subject known to exist. The Banaban people now live on Rabi Island in the Fiji Group.—Ed.

DEATH

1. “Ten Naewa” is the equivalent of “Mr. So-and-so,” and the real name of the deceased would be used in the actual ceremony.—Ed.
2. A small hand weapon with a single tooth-point (usually a shark’s tooth). —Ed.
3. For the probability of Beia-ma-Tekai being two individuals see p. 35, in which case the story would seem to be a pious fraud.—Ed.
4. See Agricultural Rituals: The Fructification of the Pandanus where, however, it is stated that the clans of Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua have the right to perform the fructification ritual. It seems probable that, as recorded here, only one *utu* had the necessary expertise to undertake the work, at least on Marakei in the early 1920s when the fructification ceremony was obsolescent.—Ed.

HISTORY

1. Robert Wood, alias Grey, a Scotsman who was put ashore on Butaritari at his own request by the captain of the English whaler *Janie* in 1834 and left on the USS *Peacock* in 1841 (Wilkes 1845, 5:72).—Ed.
2. The making of fresh toddy from the coconut tree and its fermenting to make sour toddy is described in Grimble 1933–1934, 33–34.—Ed.
3. Kabunare is the Gilbertese rendition of the captain's name (Maude 1968, 244).—Ed.
4. Koakoa was the name given to Richard Randall, the first resident trader in the Gilbert Islands, who landed at Butaritari in March 1846 with his partner George Durant (Ibid., 245).—Ed.
5. The British flag was hoisted by Captain H. M. Davis of HMS *Royalist* on 12 June 1892. C. R. Swayne was actually the first British Resident, in October 1893, and W. Telfer Campbell succeeded him in November 1895.—Ed.

MAGIC

1. Rosemary Grimble 1972, 15.
2. Ibid. A more literary translation of this spell is given on her pp. 16–17.—Ed.
3. For an alternative translation see ibid., 16.—Ed.
4. *Neienne* refers to the sun as it (or she, for the Gilbertese) rises.
5. Ten Naene So-and-so'. A person using this spell would substitute the name of the person from whom welcome was sought.
6. *Kabubura.* This word is popularly used in reference to the hook or the bait, not the fisherman himself. I have heard a fisherman say to a crowd of children, "Don't come staring at my fishing tackle, or you will cause it to be *kabu bura*

(i.e., in a condition to fail of its catch)." *Bubura* means bulky: the idea seems to be that if the bait or tackle is stared at, it will seem larger to the fish and will therefore frighten them away.

7. *Waira,* means unlucky in consequence of hostile magic. The *maniwaira* is a particular kind of magic intended to bring ill fortune to the enterprise of an enemy.
8. *Beeua* is allied to *beo,* which means tangled. The latter word is more commonly applied to objects, the former to ideas.
9. *Marierie.* The meaning of this is doubtful. I assume that it is either a corruption or an obsolete allied form of the word *matiketike,* which is applied to a rope that is not hauled taut. It is also used as a term of reproach to a fisherman who fails to catch, or to a man whose lands are badly cared for; it signifies faintness of effort, or half-heartedness.
10. Grimble 1931*a*, 219–221.

THE MANEABA

Relevant excerpts from notes in this section concerned with maneaba building are reproduced or epitomized in Maude 1980, which is a general account of maneaba construction written for the Gilbertese.—Ed.

1. The principles governing succession to the *boti* and its headship are discussed in Maude 1963, 25–28, and those concerned with the special case of adopted persons in Maude and Maude 1931, 232 and Maude 1963, 28.—Ed.
2. I.e., the men of the *boti* Nukumauea. Referring to a group by the name of its deity or *boti* is a common practice in Gilbertese speech.—Ed.
3. For the ceremony of distribution in a Tabontebike maneaba see Maude 1963, 57–59.—Ed.
4. For Tetake and Nei Tituabine on Makin see Grimble 1933–1934, 109. The Makin narrative concerning the original maneaba on Beru appears garbled, since from Beru

tradition, which is quite explicit, we find that the first maneaba was built by Teweia at Tabontebike; the second later by Koura at Aoniman; and the third by Tewatu (or Towatu) of Matang later still at Tabiang (see Maude 1963, 11, 17–18; Maude 1980, 6). In later years Grimble accepted Beru tradition as correct (p. 202).—Ed.

5. The best account of maneaba sanctity is given by Grimble on pp. 200–201.—Ed.
6. By far the best description of *boti* divisions in the Butaritari and Makin maneaba is on p. 217. The rest of this field note has been ignored by Grimble, presumably because he considered that his informant was wrong: it is hardly likely that *boti* allocations based on rank would be exogamous, and traditions affirm that canoe crests originated in various places but that Makin was not one of them (Grimble 1921*a*). The *boti* badges are, however, interesting and may perhaps be verified by further research. For the weapons used see Murdoch 1923, 174–175.—Ed.
7. Grimble 1931*a*, 212; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 132–135.
8. The styles of construction called Te Namakaina and Te Ketoa are now unknown; that called Te Tabanin 'The Foursquare' may correspond with the style now called Tabontebike. That called Maungatabu is the only one of the four in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars.
9. Grimble 1931*a*, 219.

MARRIAGE

1. For the position of *moa ni kie,* or *rao ni kie,* see Grimble 1921*b,* 27–28; *eiriki* is discussed later.—Ed.

MEDICAL PRACTICES

1. Grimble 1933–1934, 31.
2. At this stage the water in the nut begins to dry up quickly, and the sweet spongy substance called *te bebe* takes its place.
3. For the stages of the coconut see Grimble 1933–1934, 31–32.—Ed.

NAMES

1. Joan (or, in Gilbertese, Tion) was visiting Grimble at Banaba in 1931 when my wife and I were also staying at the residency She was then about twenty-two, and there is a photograph of her in Grimble 1933–1934, figure 3.—Ed.
2. *Tiki* ‘stretched’, ‘taut’, extended’; *katika* ‘pull’. Thus *tiki* as applied to a name means its extension or derivative.

RELATIONSHIPS

1. See *Tinaba* and *Eiriki,* note 1.—Ed.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

1. *Kaunga, toru,* or *teru* are usually translated as “slaves” by Grimble but are perhaps more correctly described as “serfs,” as they almost invariably became caretakers on their owner’s land and as such had certain customary rights of user. Grimble is mistaken in thinking that there were no slaves, or serfs, in the so-called pure democracies of the southern islands. Most of the *kaunga* found there had been captured in inter-maneaba conflicts or had lost their land through being convicted of some crime, usually theft.—Ed.
2. Maude 1981, 317.

3. For further data concerning *te toba* on Butaritari see Lambert 1964, 1970. —Ed.
4. The fact that there were two chiefs of Buakonikai resulted from the amalgamation of the old districts of Te Aonoanne and Toakira to form the single district of Buakonikai, whereupon the chief of Toakira became the so-called second chief of the combined district.—Ed.
5. On the Banaban chiefs and chiefesses see Maude and Maude 1932, 266, 273–275, 293–298, and appendix 1, where it is stated that a chiefess inherited the title only, the work being performed by a male relative until the title was again inherited by a male.—Ed.
6. Grimble 1921*b*, 37–40.

SORCERY

1. Rosemary Grimble 1972, 26–27.
2. Ibid., 27–28.
3. Ibid., 29–30.
4. Ibid., 29.

TINABA AND EIRIKI

1. The exposition on *tinaba* may be found confusing in that Grimble did not provide a single list of customary *tinaba* relationships in his text but merely mentioned particular relationships incidentally when discussing other features of the custom.

   Thus, under Relationships, Grimble stated that a man's *tinaba* were his son's wife and brother's son's wife, while in this section he said that a man's sister's son's wife was considered preferable as a *tinaba* sexual partner to his brother's son's wife, though intercourse with the latter was becoming a more frequent practice.

Later, he added to a man's list of *tinaba* his wife's mother and in discussing relationships on Butaritari mentioned a man's wife's mother's sister.

When investigating *tinaba* relationships on Beru in connection with Lands Commission proceedings I found that a man's *tinaba* were considered to be:

(1) his son's wife;
(2) his brother's son's wife;
(3) his wife's mother; and
(4) his wife's mother's sister.

Lundsgaarde, whose fieldwork was conducted on Nonouti, Tabiteuea and Tamana, agrees with the above list (Lundsgaarde 1966, 83). In view of their close historical relationships we can affirm, therefore, that the whole of the Southern Gilbert Islands from Nonouti to Arorae conform to the Beru pattern, which differ from Grimble's only in his addition of the sister's son's wife.

I considered the custom of *tinaba* relationship with a man's sister's son's wife to be a Northern Gilbert Islands variation until I referred the matter to Mautake, Tarawa's foremost expert on the niceties of custom and one of Grimble's former informants (Grimble 1952, 194–203), who wrote across the genealogy which I had shown to him: *E aki katauaki i aon Tarawa ma e kariaiaki n tai tabe tai ma e ngareakina te aba* 'It was not permitted on Tarawa, though agreed to occasionally, when it was the cause of ribaldry'—(Maude 1963, 60).

Until further research can be made in the northern islands it is suggested that the *tinaba* relationship between a man and his sister's son's wife, in preference to his brother's son's wife, may be regarded as an anomaly confined to Marakei, though no doubt occasionally found as a deviant practice elsewhere.

For a discerning account of the emotional feelings of Gilbertese men and women towards the custom of *tinaba* see Grimble 1957, 100–108.—Ed.

2. See note 1, above.—Ed.
3. Ibid.
4. Grimble may be correct in maintaining that two persons of the same sex may be classified as *tinaba,* but the term would have no sexual implications, nor presumably involve any privileges or obligations. I have never come across an example of such a use of the term myself.—Ed.
5. See note 1, above.—Ed.
6. But see the final paragraph of the preceding section.—Ed.
7. See note 1, above.—Ed.
8. This is almost certainly an idiosyncratic anomaly contrary to any known custom and may be disregarded.—Ed.
9. Batiauea, Raua, and Ema are also the wife's sisters, and therefore the *eiriki,* of Karawaia.
10. Grimble 1921*b,* 28, where the classification of *tauanikai* is not, however, identical.—Ed.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MANEABA IN GILBERTESE SOCIETY

1. I use the term *village* here to mean any settlement of households concentrated by the government since 1892.
2. Rosemary Grimble 1972, 208; Maude 1980, 4–5.
3. Grimble changed his views on this point later and it is generally agreed that only the Tabontebike maneaba originated on Beru, while the Maungatabu type was first built on Tarawa by Bue and the Tabiang style brought to Beru by Tewatu ni Matang either from Makin or Matang (Maude 1980, 4–6)—Ed.
4. For a description of the *utu* see Maude 1963, 61–62.—Ed.

5. This is a translation of an actual conversation noted. I accompanied the interrogators when they "lifted the word" to a new arrival.
6. *Babai (Cyrtosperma chamissonis)* [Small 1972, 65]. *Karokaro: Karo* in the northern Gilberts is collective, meaning parents; but in the southern islands it is masculine and singular, meaning father. It is used in the latter sense interchangeably with the word *tama;* but while *tama* takes the suffixed possessive, *karo* is preceded by the pronoun. *Karo* also means, throughout the Gilberts, "a member of the same *boti*," evidently connoting the idea of common ancestry. The word *karokaro* denotes recognition of clan relationship and its duties.
7. The *inaki* is a single row of thatch, laid in ascending order from the eaves to the ridge of the roof.
8. More recent research has disproved this statement.—Ed.
9. As there was no *boti* plan for the Tabontebike maneaba in the Grimble papers the one published in Maude 1963, 19 has been reproduced.—Ed.
10. I did not find these *boti* represented in any of the maneaba on Beru, Nikunau, or Onotoa for which I made plans, from which I concluded that they were peculiar to the northern islands.—Ed.
11. In view of the frequency with which names of spiritual beings are, and always were, bestowed upon living persons, the possibility must not be ignored that the god names of tradition may in many cases have been the actual names of human ancestors.
12. I have no details of the Nui *boti* organization.

PRECEDENCE AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLANS IN THE MANEABA

1. *E baina te moan taeka ma te motin taeka* (lit. "He uses the first word with the judgment of words").

2. *Kaitiaka main ana taeka* (lit. “Make clean the front of his words”).
3. The head was possibly bowed only to prevent those around from hearing the words of the formula, which in this position would be muttered into the chest.
4. *Bon Tamoa Karongoa* (lit. “Indeed Samoa Karongoa”).
5. Owing to the disruptive influence of the same high chief, he would also have come to the conclusion that the clan system was very weakly developed, and exogamy almost non-existent.
6. I.e., Marakei, Abaiang, Tarawa, Maiana, and Nonouti. Butaritari had the chiefly and high-chiefly systems but, as shown elsewhere, did not possess the same clan organization as the other islands.
7. Grimble has not made allowance here for the effect of introduced firearms, which the temporal Uea Binoka was able to monopolize. Faced with death the sacred but defenceless maneaba chiefs of Karongoa n Uea had no choice but to acquiesce.—Ed.
8. This could only have been true for those maneaba in which Karongoa had a seat; there were many where the *boti* was not represented.—Ed.

TRADITIONAL ORIGINS OF THE MANEABA

1. For an interlinear translation of the earlier part of this tradition see Grimble 1933–1934, 104–108.—Ed.
2. Grimble is here quoting from a Keaki tradition emanating from the northern island but, as he often said, the most reliable accounts are those of the Karongoa elders; and from these we learn that Koura came to Beru not before Matawarebwe but in the time of his great grandson, Ten Tanentoa, the grandson of Tanentoa I (or as he is usually called, Tanentoa ni Beru), who was summoned from a visit to Nonouti to defeat him.—Ed.

3. Keaki tradition almost certainly errs here for the Karongoa elders on Beru, who should know best, affirm that the Tabontebike maneaba was built at the request of Matawarebwe by his grandson Teweia, with timbers brought from Samoa.—Ed.
4. Slightly variant accounts of the well-known story of Tewatu are given elsewhere in this volume; see also Grimble 1933–1934, 110–112, and Rosemary Grimble 1972, 274–276. From these it is clear that he arrived in Beru during the time of Tanentoa II and not, as here stated, Tanentoa I.—Ed.

THE CLAN AND THE TOTEM

1. A brief account of the crest Nimta-wawa is given in Grimble 1921*a*, 81; and a more detailed one, which includes the tradition, in Rosemary Grimble 1972, 181–182.—Ed.
2. Grimble 1964, C13(a)E; Grimble 1921*a*, 81–83; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 132–134, 182–183.
3. Grimble 1964, A(2)(g)E, E(39)(f)G; Grimble 1921*a*, 84; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 107.
4. The shark totem of Karumaetoa cannot be bracketed with that of Te Bakoa. The two creatures are distinguished traditionally by their names, the former being called Bakewa-the-Shark and the latter Tabuariki-the-Shark.
5. Grimble's hypotheses as to why marriages were permitted between members of clans possessing the same totems are not substantiated by subsequent historical research (Maude 1963, 10–13, 64). This shows that the two groups of autochthones on Beru were allotted their own *boti* by Tematawarebwe in the maneaba at Tabontebike built by the immigrants from Samoa—Te Bakoa, the *boti* of Tabuariki, on the east side, and Tenguingui (or Te Wiwi) the *boti* of Nainginouti, on the south—and although the shark totem of the Te Bakoa group of *boti* was one of the four belonging to

the Karongoa group this was not considered to be a barrier to intermarriage between them. In fact Tematawarebwe himself married Nei Teareinimatang of the *boti* Te Bakoa, descended like him from the ancestral deity Tabuariki.

There was in fact no reason to subdivide *boti* in order to facilitate marriage since the immigrants were free to marry local girls. The rule of exogamy which is said by Grimble to have once existed would seem therefore to have prohibited intermarriage not between persons sharing the same totems or ancestors but between persons belonging to the same *boti*.—Ed.

THE HISTORICAL CONTENT OF GILBERTESE MYTHOLOGY

1. The Gilbertese Timirau is better known as the Mangaian Tinirau. The characteristics of his home Motu-tapu—Sacred Isle in Mangaian myth—are the same as those of Gilbertese Matang: it sinks and floats as the god wills; but in the Gilbertese tales, his daughter Tituabine usurps his supremacy.
2. I think that many of those names are late additions, the imagination and ingenuity of the chroniclers having been applied to the devising of apposite or humorous titles, e.g., Koba, You eructate; Ko-ting, You pass wind; Ten Kaminimin, Masturbator; and so on. It is, however, possibly significant that these beings with highly indecent names are all reputed to have been black.

A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH TO GILBERTESE HISTORY

1. Grimble 1964, H(71)E, I(82)G.
2. Ibid., E(41).

3. Airam Teeko's genealogy is given elsewhere in this volume, but Kabua's identical list has not been found. My own records suggest that Grimble's informants may have missed three generations between Tem Mwea and Teannaki, and should have inserted, though this is perhaps arguable, Ten Tawaia between Karotu and Baiteke (on the latter point see Maude 1970, 205). If these are added the thirteen generations from Tem Mwea to Tokatake would then agree with those found in the Beru Karongoa genealogy from Bakarerenteiti (a contemporary of Kaitu) and Tione (a contemporary of Tokatake; Maude 1963, 23).—Ed.
4. Te Kawakawa's genealogy is in Grimble 1964, E(36).—Ed.
5. Only the genealogy is extant and it is possible that there never was any explanatory text with it.—Ed.
6. Grimble has recorded that Anetipa's genealogy was mislaid.—Ed.
7. A dating based on more recent research makes it thirteen generations from 1900, or A.D. 1600 (see note 3).—Ed.
8. Grimble 1964, A(5)(e).
9. The more recently recorded Karongoa genealogy of Beru also gives eight generations from Kaitu's time to Tanentoa II (Maude 1963, 21, 23).—Ed.
10. Grimble 1933–1934, 109–112; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 274–276.
11. Grimble 1964, A(5)(d); Rosemary Grimble 1972, 268–270.
12. Grimble 1964, A(5)(c).
13. Ibid., E(41).
14. Ibid., A(5)(d); Rosemary Grimble 1972, 268–270.
15. Grimble 1921*b*, 26; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 59; Maude 1963, 63. But these rules of consanguinity did not apply in the case of high chiefs, where even the marriage of first cousins was permitted.—Ed.
16. The question of consanguinity also arises in respect of Tanentoa's marriage. As related in the Tarawan tale, his wife Beiarung was a daughter of Kirirere by Beia-ma-Tekai. If

Tanentoa was a “son” of the same father by another wife, he married his half-sister—which is unthinkable. The only possible inference is that several generations between the pair and their common ancestor have been forgotten. The Nui record quoted in the text is thus supported by the nature of the case, as well as by many reliable chroniclers. [Not necessarily several generations, as Tanentoa was a High Chief, but certainly more than one.—Ed.]

17. It is probable that Beia-ma-Tekai, which means “Beia with Tekai,” is a collective name for two individuals. This is indicated in a Beruan tale where Kirata III’s wife Beia is said to have been the mother of the man Beia, while Kirata’s second wife Kabwebwe bore Tekai. If this was so, the common ancestor of Tongabiri and Kekeia was not Beia-ma-Tekai but Kirata III. This does not affect the correctness of our argument or our dating, which has a firm foundation on the generations of Kekeia, as given by my Nui authority and corroborated by other chroniclers of the group. As Beia-ma-Tekai appear to have had their wives in common, and are nearly always referred to in Gilbertese story as a single person, it has been more convenient to discuss their composite character in the singular.

[Leading Karongoa historians were quite unequivocal in affirming to me that Beia and Tekai were two persons, though usually thought to have been one by those not versed in the correct tradition. They did not even have the same mother for Nei Beia, who was Kirata’s *raoni kie* (senior wife), had two children, Tekai and the celebrated chieftainess Nei Rakentai, while Nei Kabwebwe had only one, whom she called Beia after her co-wife. It is true that Ten Tanentoa was *te natini buoka* (a child jointly begotten, and not only by Beia and Tekai but also Uamamuri, Nanikain, and Ten Tabutoa) but when Tekai returned to Nonouti to live with Nei Teweia, Beia stayed with Nei Kirirere on Tabiteuea where they had

three children—Nei Beiarung, Ten Teboi, and Obaia II (usually called Obaia-te-kerikaki)—quite independently of Tekai.—Ed.]

18. The struggle of the Samoans to free themselves from foreign domination was ended by the Battle of Matamatame and a modern ethnohistorian, Brother Fred Henry, estimated that this took place about A.D. 1250 (Henry 1980, 43).—Ed.
19. Tarawa: Grimble 1964, A(5)(d); Rosemary Grimble 1972, 268–270. Beru: Grimble 1964, A(2)(b)E, E(39)(b)G; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 43. Nui: Grimble 1964, E(40); S. Percy Smith 1921, 289.
20. *Aka,* a word frequently appearing in the names of Gilbertese craft, is doubtless a form of the Polynesian *vaka, wangga, wa‘a* ‘a canoe’; *wa* is the modern Gilbertese equivalent. With *bu* (breed) and *toa* ‘giant’ the name thus means “Canoe of the giant breed,” in allusion to the boasted stature and strength of the family.
21. This colonization of Arorae on the way north indicates that the real motive of the migration from Samoa was not the marriage of Beia and Kabwebwe with Kirata III.
22. For an account of Gilbertese canoe crests see Grimble 1921*a*.—Ed.
23. It is notable that the totem of Beia and Kabwebwe has been preserved rather than Kirata’s, for that of the male generally goes down to posterity.
24. This tradition, said to have been given to Grimble by Teiaoniman of Beru, can no longer be found among his papers, but there is a less detailed account of Te I-Mone’s arrival at Beru in Grimble 1964, E(29).—Ed.
25. I do not think that it is even necessary for us to believe that a woman named Matennang married a chief named Kirata III. All that I would read into the tradition is that a member of the family group Matennang married a member of the Kirata family in the time of Kirata III.

26. The tradition is reproduced in Grimble 1964, A(2)(c).—Ed.
27. Given to me by Tiare, a member of the Karongoa families on Beru. In this tradition Teuribaba appears as the ancestral god of all Karongoa folk, which is in accordance with the evidence of general opinion in the Gilbert Group, as typified in a Tarawan story [reproduced in Grimble 1964, A(5)(a)—Ed.] of his growth from the surface root of the Tree of Samoa. His canoe *Ataataimoa* is the one which was allocated to Beia and Kabwebwe in the Beruan account of this invasion, but as an ancestral god he was present on all the craft of the Karongoa families. Note the slight difference: "Ataataimoa" in the one version and "Ataatamoa" in the other.
28. For more on the symbolism of the Gilbertese canoe crests see the account of a return from a head-hunting expedition on the canoe *Te Kaburoro* during the sojourn in Samoa, given in Grimble 1933–1934, 89.—Ed.
29. In alluding to Karongoa as the priestly clan, I wish to imply, not that its males were once upon a time all priests, but that it was the group of families which supplied the priests of Rongo when needed. The clan is made up at present of a dozen component families, each with its particular name. Of these, the family of Karongoa n Uea (Karongoa of the King) is paramount. It sits in the middle of the northern end of the maneaba and directs the ceremonies of the place through the medium of a spokesman, who is chosen from one or another of the Karongoa family branches. These sit to right and left of the senior branch. It is the people of Karongoa n Uea who, as I believe, represent the priests of Rongo.
30. Te Kabaraki is a title of Tituabine, the fair-haired goddess of the Gilbertese.
31. Nei Tewenei is a cognate of Tituabine, the goddess of the meteorite, also blonde.

A HISTORY OF ABEMAMA

1. For the popular explanation that this was because Uakeia's dog loved fish see p. 275 where, however, Grimble states that the dog belonged to Kaitu, who took the lands.—Trans.
2. For Ten Teeko's genealogy of the Abemama dynasty see Table 7, Column 2; there is a general history of Abemama under Tern Binoka and his father Tem Baiteke in Maude 1970.—Trans.
3. Sorcery to bring back an unfaithful partner.—Trans.
4. The Gilbertese text states that the compensation payable is a piece of land or a canoe, but that, if no canoe could be handed over, another piece of land should replace it. The general sense implies that the compensation was land plus a canoe, or two lands. Cf. similar laws on Banaba and Beru in Maude and Maude 1932, 289; and Maude 1963, 47.—Trans.
5. Presumably the belief was that fish made one unaggressive. See also "Foods avoided by adults in time of war" (Grimble 1933–1934, 22–23).—Trans.
6. The wild plants mentioned by Teeko are *wao* (pigweed, *Boerhavia diffusa*); *mtea* 'purslane'—*Portulaca quadrifida*; and *boi* 'seaside purslane'— *Saesuvium portu lacastrum;* 'broad-leaved purslane'—*Portulaca lutea;* 'purslane'—*Portulaca tubero sa.* Identifications are from Overy, Polunin, and Wimblett 1982; see also Grimble 1933–1934, 29; Luomala, 1953*a*, 71, 95–96, 121; Turbott 1954.—Trans.
7. For traditional accounts of *te bomatemaki* see Grimble 1922–1923, 91–112; Rosemary Grimble 1972, 39–54; Talu et al. 1979:1–9.—Trans.
8. *te ketenaiwa,* from *kete,* a small basket with a lid, and *aiwa,* to disturb, upset.—Trans.
9. A song of the voyage of Naka and Nei Nibongibong when fleeing from the basket is in Grimble 1964, H(70).—Trans.

10. The story of the great Tree of Tarawa, Te Uekera, is in Grimble 1964, A(5)(b) and reproduced in Rosemary Grimble 1972, 264–266. A version crediting Nei Nibongibong with the growing of Te Uekera is in Grimble 1964, C(15).—Trans.
11. For a Roman Catholic father's view of the Gilbertese *anti* in general see Sabatier 1977, 55–79, and on Terakunene in particular pp. 71–72. Teeko's "The Story of Terakunene" is on pp. 305–306.—Trans.
12. Sabatier 1977, 71–72.—Trans.
13. The *ruoia,* and Gilbertese dancing in general, is the subject of Grimble's memorandum reproduced in Part 3. See also Laxton and Kamoriki 1953; Laxton 1953; and for dance songs Grimble 1964, Series J, and Whincup and Whincup 1981.—Trans.
14. Presumably the meaning of this sentence is that if the presence of anyone from the spirit world was sensed it could indicate that some *anti* was displeased with an aspect of the proceedings and had to be placated or induced to depart.—Trans.
15. The translation is revised from a preliminary draft by Grimble [1964, I(66)(y)].—Trans.
16. For its manufacture and use see p. 307.—Trans.
17. See *kibenanimata* in Glossary.—Ed.
18. *Eremao:* a feast held just before or after birth, so called because the *mao* bush *(Scaevola taccada)* was uprooted to preserve the child from harmful spells. For more on this feast and care during pregnancy see Grimble 1921*b,* 34–35, and Birth.—Trans.
19. *Bunna:* a belt made from the *kiaiai* 'seacoast mallow'—*Hibiscus tiliaceus,* possessing magical properties to preserve the mother and child from evil spells and sorcery (Grimble 1921*b*, 35).—Trans.

20. *Te tia tobi* ‘the midwife’, an old woman skilled in massage and any magical procedures necessary; *te tia katoka,* a woman sitting behind the mother, who assists with the delivery.—Trans.
21. Nei Aibong: a female *anti* of the northern horizon hostile to pregnant women and their babies, who may be pacified by three days of feasting at the birth. Hence the sojourn in the *umananti* ‘house of spirits’.—Trans.
22. Figuratively, “launch out into the adult world.”—Trans.
23. Either the mother or a wet nurse.—Trans.
24. The *tia tabu-atu* means “the lifter of the head,” so called because she held the dead person’s head on her lap while reciting a spell to *kaeta kawaina* “straighten the path” of the deceased’s soul so that it could overcome the hazards en route to its final destination in the Land of Shades. For the function of the *tia tabe-atu* see Grimble 1921*b*, 46.—Ed.
25. *Mon,* fish of genus *Priacanthus,* possibly var. *myrippustis. Tarakaimaiu,* source of fruitfulness or abundance.—Trans.
26. The *antimaomata* are usually described as “semi-deified ancestors,” i.e., *boti* founders and other human beings who lived long ago *(ngkoangkoa)* and were raised to their new status by the magical processes possessed by themselves, or by others operating on them.—Trans.
27. This list of *anti* is only illustrative.—Trans.
28. *Kibenanimata* appears to be derived from *kibena* ‘a scoop net used for fishing by torchlight’ and *mata* ‘eye’, ‘sight’. Veil is perhaps a better translation than barrier or shield, the meanings usually applied to *otanga.* Grimble called it “the wall of invisibility.”—Trans.
29. The Gilbertese call them the *bata,* ‘houses’, of Auatabu and Teabike, but Grimble used the word *lodges* (1933–1934, 112) and this seems a better term.—Trans.
30. Airam Teeko’s heading to this section is concerned with how a lodge is joined, by application or selection on merit, and he indicates that it was in fact neither, but on where

one lived. He goes on to discuss lodge predominance on Abemama, with its northern neighbours, and the historical consequences.—Ed.

A DISCOURSE ON GILBERTESE DANCING

For further information on Gilbertese dancing see Laxton and Kamoriki 1953; Hughes 1957; Koch and Christensen 1965, 1967.—Ed.

1. Under the term *ruoia* 'the classical Gilbertese dance' the pastors evidently included all forms of dancing.—Ed.
2. "The things of their bodies" is a mission euphemism for sexual organs. —Ed.
3. The *kaubure* (Samoan *faipule*) were village headmen appointed by the government.—Ed.
4. See Magic and Sorcery in Part 1.—Ed.

Glossary

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following definitions represent, whenever possible, my understanding of the meaning which Grimble gave to some important terms used by the Gilbertese to express traditional concepts in their culture when it was in an intrinsically pristine state; definitions of less frequently used words and phrases will be found when they occur in the text. Extensive changes in the Gilbertese way of life introduced since the period Grimble was considering, mainly caused by government and mission pressures, have made some terms archaic, while others are used more imprecisely today as the observance of once-functioning cultural traits has changed or ceased.

There is a perceptive study of the use of these terms when describing pre-European-contact social organization and the necessity for their amendment when referring to modern conditions in Lundsgaarde (1966, 83–96), and a good résumé of the effect of change on the social structure of the Tabiteueans in Geddes (1983, 28–44). In the case of kinship terms in particular, the growth of courtesy and other extensions make precise definitions difficult to formulate concisely—see, for example, the various meanings of the term *utu* today in Lundsgaarde and Silverman (1972, 97–100).

abani kuakua land transferred in return for caring for a sick or aged person.

anti spirit. Every *utu* had its *anti* whose help was invoked when necessary; some had always been spirits and others became spirits.

antimaomata (lit. "human spirit") ancestors or other human beings who had become spirits either in their lifetime or after death.

atua god. Among the principal gods in the Gilbertese pantheon were Nareau, Tabuariki, Auriaria, Nei Tituabine, Teweia, Riki, and Nei Tewenei.

Auatabu one of the two *bata* 'houses' or 'lodges', the other being Teabike, founded by Kaitu and Uakeia as military colleges for training young men in martial prowess. They soon became rival contenders for dominance on those northern and central islands where war was endemic, or at least customary.

babai the great swamp taro *(Cyrtosperma chamissonis),* a much-prized food.

bainaine land transferred as a penalty for adultery with a woman.

bainikuakua synonym for *abani kuakua.*

bangabanga water caverns, about 50 of which are scattered on Banaba; used for emergency water supplies.

ba ni kamaimai perfumed oil.

banuri land given to an adopter as a help with the expenses of feeding the adopted.

Beia-ma-Tekai 'Beia and Tekai' were the sons of the High Chief Kirata III of Tarawa, Tekai by his first wife, Nei Beia, and Tem Beia, who was named after her, by his second wife, Nei Kabwebwe. They are usually mentioned together in Gilbertese tradition, as they played a joint part in so many well-known events.

betia sea marks used in navigation.

bingibing *(Thespesia populnea)* Umbrella tree.

binobino coconut shell used as gourd or container.

bitanikai a magic staff which can enable a man to reverse the effects of a *rabu* and protect himself in other kinds of danger or necessity.

bomaki ceremony performed for three nights after a burial; the soul is chased from the corpse by tapping the ground or trees round about with a stick.

boti the sitting places traditionally assigned to individual clans in a maneaba, and by extension, the name given to the clan itself. See also clan, *inaki.*

boua a pillar, post, stake, prop, or column.

bouan anti an erect stone pillar representing an ancestral deity.

bunna a belt or girdle made from the inner bark of the *kanawa* tree *(Cordia sub cordata)* or *kiaiai* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus,* sea-coast mallow) possessing magical powers to preserve a

mother and child against *te wauna* and other forms of sorcery. It also served as abdominal support during pregnancy.

bunna ni kamaraia (lit. "the amulet of making-accursed"). An amulet worn by the *uea* of a Tabontebike maneaba enabling him to cause any person to become *maraia* 'accursed' or 'in danger of sudden death', who contradicted him or otherwise offended his dignity when he was performing his ceremonial functions.

bunnan tai (lit. "the amulet of the sun"). Synonym for *bunna ni kamaraia.*

butika the reciprocal relationship between (a) the husband and brother of a woman; and (b) the fathers-in-law of a married couple.

clan an exogamous, totemic, and normally patrilineal kin group composed of persons descended from a known common ancestor and possessing the same *atua, kainga,* and other attributes, the members being usually referred to by the name of their *boti.*

eiriki relationship in which sexual relations were generally permissible, but not always established. The *eiriki* of a man are (a) his brother's wives and (b) his wife's sisters; the *eiriki* of a woman are (a) her sister's husband and (b) her husband's brothers.

eremao a feast held when it was visible to all that a woman was pregnant, usually about the fifth month. It was so called because the *mao* bush *(Scaevola taccada)* was cleared on the eastern side of an island for the feast and the accompanying incantations *eremao* and *marainai* to preserve the mother and child from harmful magic.

inai a mat made of coconut leaves.

inaki (lit. "thatch row"). Synonym for *boti* commonly used on Tabiteuea and some other islands.

inaomata freedom, independence, a free man.

ingoa homonym, namesake.

kainga ancestral home site. The land, usually adjacent to a district maneaba, on which the *mwenga* of the *boti atu* (headmen) were located. The *kainga* were usually called by the same name as the *boti.*

kakoko young, central leaves of coconut tree.

kamaraia to cause a person to be *maraia.*

kanawa a tree *(Cordia subcordata).*

kana ni mane (lit. “the food of a man”). Collective name for a succession of ordeals and rites inducting a young male into the full status of an adult.

kutati knife, especially one used for cutting toddy.

kaunga slave, serf, landless servant. *Kaunga* were usually captured in war or enslaved for some crime and worked as caretakers of their owner’s land.

kete a small basket with a lid.

kibenanimata the veil of invisibility that prevents living people from seeing the spirit world.

kuonaine a half-coconut shell used for holding perfumed oil.

maneaba district meeting house. The communal building which provided the focus for the social and political activities of a district. In it the members of each *boti* represented sat under their prescribed *inaki* while the debates, feasts, or other activities were conducted in accordance with traditional ceremonial.

mao a bush *(Scaevola taccada).*

marae open space, public place, the area on which a maneaba stands, including the surrounds covered with *atama* ‘small white coral pebbles or shingles’.

maraia the condition of being accursed or in danger of sudden death.

Matang one of the lands in the west, said to be situated near Bouru and to be the home of the fair-skinned ancestors, notably Auriaria and Nei Tituabine. According to other traditions there is another Matang not far from Samoa.

mauri well-being, good fortune.

Mone the underworld. It is conceived as a parallel to the real world under the land and sea and is inhabited by men and *anti* as is the earth. Like the earth, the society of Mone encompasses good and evil.

mwenga dwelling house. By extension, used to denote the site on which the house stands and its occupants, whether a nuclear or extended family.

nati son, daughter, child adopted as son or daughter.

Nei prefix to names of females.

nikira remnant.

nta shells of a small red bivalve used for amulets and necklets.

rabu covering, protection, mark on tree to indicate its reservation or protection from use by taboo.

rao friend or companion.

riena scoop net for fishing.

riri woman's skirt, usually made from coconut leaves.

ruoia the classical Gilbertese dance. See "A Discourse on Gilbertese Dancing" and "A History of Abemama" and the literature cited there for more detail.

tabeatu ceremony of lifting the head, performed on the third day after a death.

tabu prohibition, taboo.

tabunea an incantation or spell; magical rites. Invocations to one or more *anti* for some specific purpose, dependent for their efficacy on the accuracy of the words used in the *manewe* (incantation) and the action used in the *kawai* (ritual) in compelling compliance.

taematao a *tabunea* recited by the *uea* of a Tabontebike maneaba, as a prelude to the general debate, designed to facilitate his opening address and final decision.

tataro prayer. Supplications to *atua* or *anti* involving an element of appeal to, or propitiation of, a spiritual power, in contrast to *tabunea.*

Ten or its euphonic variations Tem or Teng (Te in the northern Gilberts and Na, Nam, Nan, or Nang on Butaritari and Makin)—prefix to names of males.

tibu grandparents and their ancestors, grandchildren and their descendants, child adopted as grandchild.

tinaba a category of potential concubines comprising on most islands a man's sons' wives, brothers' sons' wives, wife's mother, and wife's mother's sisters; and conversely for a woman. Any sexual relationship was permissible only by agreement.

toba to have as foster child, fosterage.

toddy an alcoholic drink made from fermented coconut sap.

toka chief. The ruler over a separate political district or an island subordinate to a high chief.

toro slave, serf, landless person. Synonym for *kaunga.*

uea high chief. The ruler over an island or islands, or a politically separate part of an island.

uea (maneaba) the ceremonial head of a maneaba; in the case of a Tabontebike maneaba, invariably the head of the *boti* Karongoa n Uea.

Unaine (lit. "old woman") title of respect given to female clan elders regardless of age.

Unimane (lit. "old man") title of respect for male clan elders regardless of age.

uri a tree *(Guettarda speciosa).*

utu kindred. Consanguineal relatives (bilateral kindred), divided into *te utu ae kan* (the near kindred), who included all descended from common *tibu mamano* (great great grandparents), and *te utu ae raroa* (the distant kindred), who comprised all others with whom a degree of consanguinity could be traced.

wae dried-up coconut.

wauna a form of sorcery similar to *te wawi* but generally directed against pregnant women.

wawi a form of sorcery in which the victim is "prayed to death" by the use of a symbol such as a dragonfly or lizard, or by using remnants of his food, nailparings, hair, excreta, etc.

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About the Editor

H. E. Maude has been connected with the Pacific ever since 1927, when he read for honours in anthropology at Cambridge University. Fascinated by the romance of the south seas portrayed in literature, he joined the British Colonial Service in 1929 and, trained by Arthur Grimble, became a district officer in charge of the southern Gilberts. He eventually succeeded Grimble as administrator of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (now the Republic of Kiribati and Dominion of Tuvalu), the only anthropologist ever to administer a British territory.

Anticipating the collapse of colonialism Maude then joined the newly founded international South Pacific Commission. Upon retirement he realized his ultimate ambition by being appointed a Senior (later Professorial) Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, where he assisted in the development of the Department of Pacific Islands History.

Maude's work has taken him to all the main groups in Polynesia and most of those in Micronesia and Melanesia. This has resulted in over a hundred publications on Pacific history, ethnography, literature, and bibliography, including *Of Islands and Men* and *Slavers in Paradise*.

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